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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1420

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ALBANIA

REPORT ON CONTACTS OF DELEGATION TO ROME MEETING

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 May 77 p 4

[Article by Foto Cami: "In the Spirit of Proletarian Internationalism"]

[Text] As announced by the press and radio-television, a delegation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party took part in an international demonstration organized in Rome by the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, under the slogan "in continuation of Gramsh [or Gramsci], the antifascist resistance and the partisan struggle, let us fight for Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism and communism."

This demonstration, initiated by the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, was attended, by a delegation of the Albanian Workers' Party, and also by delegations from a number of European and Latin American Marxist-Leninist parties.

The hall of the Brancaccio motion picture theater, located in the center of Rome, was filled with militant members of, and sympathizers with, the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, workers, day laborers and poor peasants, students, women and progressive intellectuals. It was adorned with slogans, banners and portraits of the classic figures of Marxism-Leninism--Gramsci, Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Enver Hoxha. In the lobby and the hall itself were stands reflecting the most important moments in the history and struggles of the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party.

The demonstration of 17 April in Rome, as well as the other demonstrations organized by Marxist-Leninist parties in Germany, Italy, Greece and Portugal, were vivid expressions of the international unity and solidarity of proletarian internationalism. At a time when imperialists, the bourgeoisie and various revisionists and opportunists are attempting to disrupt Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletarian and the people, the Rome demonstration contributed directly to the practical application of the great revolutionary slogan "proletarians of all lands, oppressed peoples and nations, unite!"

Comrade Fosco Dinucci, secretary general of the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, in a speech propounding his party's stand on the most important

national and international problems, expressed deep gratitude to the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, and personally to Comrade Enver Hoxha, for accepting the invitation and sending a delegation to the Rome demonstration. He appreciated this as a great support for the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, and as an important contribution to the strengthening of unity between our two sister parties and friendship between our neighboring peoples, and as a valuable contribution to strengthening proletarian internationalism.

The delegates of the other sister parties participating in this demonstration also evaluated this act by our party as another expression of its consistent internationalist stand, as a new concrete step toward realizing the great idea posed by the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party concerning the urgent need to strengthen ties and collaboration between Marxist-Leninist parties.

The greeting of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party was received by all present at the demonstration with great ovations for our party and for Comrade Enver Hoxha. The great acclaim and applause created a very exciting situation for us, the members of the delegation. From this very first contact, we sensed the high authority and prestige enjoyed by our party and country throughout the world and the great love and sympathy held by communists and proletarian revolutionaries for the party's and our people's leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

During its stay in Italy, our party's delegation had a number of other contacts with workers and employees in various regions of Italy. Very exciting and touching was the meeting in Parma with ex-partisans from Emilia, Veneto, Lombardy and Tuscany, and with Italian ex-partisans who had fought with partisan brigades in Albania.

In his discussion, Bruno Brunetti, former political commissar of the Antonio Gramsci Battalion, recalled with affection some of the most significant moments in our antifascist War of National Liberation. He refuted the slanders of bourgeois and reactionary propaganda, and confirmed, with many facts, the very correct attitude of the Albanian people and partisans toward the Italian soldiers who refused to surrender to the German Nazis. He also spoke of the Italian partisans of the Antonio Gramsci Battalion in Albania, who fought in support of their Albanian comrades, against the German invaders. The participants in this meeting denounced the heads of the Italian revisionist party for their betrayal of the traditions and ideals of the antifascist resistance and the partisan struggle of the Italian people. All the speakers underscored the great political need for this meeting in preserving and strengthening the friendship between our two peoples and the unity between the two Marxist-Leninist parties in the fight against common enemies--imperialism and social imperialism, reaction and fascism, modern revisionism and every kind of opportunism.

In Milan, our delegation had an opportunity to meet representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the most important industrial center in Italy.

In a speech during a meeting here, Fosco Dinucci declared that the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party finds inspiration and new faith in the presence of the Albanian Workers' Party delegation and in the experience in revolution and the construction of socialism gained in Albania to advance the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in Italy. At a time when revisionists and all the traitors to the working class are trying to sow a distrust of the ideals of socialism and communism, the example of Albania, he emphasized, teaches us how a true socialist society, where the people are masters of their own fate and have all power in their own hands, and where man, free from exploitation, can express his personality in every field of life, can be realized.

The workers taking part in this meeting stressed that the crisis in the world imperialist system is daily making the life of the working masses more difficult and dramatic. The bourgeoisie and its servants, they said, want to persuade the working class to accept great sacrifices to save capitalism from this crisis. But the working class is becoming increasingly aware that its interests are incompatible with those of the bourgeoisie; it has shown that it is not only able to defend itself against the blows of the bourgeoisie, but can also launch an attack to unmask the betrayers of the working class--revisionists and trade-union leaders. The point, said one of the participants in the meeting, is not to divide power between the working class and employers, as Italian revisionists are preaching and attempting to do, but bring the working class to power through the proletarian revolution.

In a meeting that we had in Bari and Manduria, in the province of Puglia, the participants acquainted us with the class struggles of the proletariat, the serious condition of the poor peasants and day laborers and the problems worrying the youth and the women of that region. The first to speak was a worker who belonged to the executive organ of a factory council in a large industrial enterprise. He spoke about the importance of the work in the factory councils and the need for coordination of their activities on a regional and national scale as a prerequisite to freeing the working class from the chains put on it by modern revisionists and trade-union leaders, collaborators with the bourgeoisie and administrators of their affairs. A day laborer in Bari spoke with great dissatisfaction and rebelliousness, and closed by saying: "Enough of sacrifices. The members of working class begins to make sacrifices even in the mother's womb. Now it remains for us to fight the last battle, that of the proletarian revolution."

An Italian-Albanian (arberesh) folklore group from San Marziano also came to Manduria to meet and welcome the Albanian Workers' Party delegation. Its members gave the best address to our country and people and presented a concert of Italian-Albanian songs and dances to those assembled. Particularly touching and significant was the song "One Who Has Lost His Mother," by which they meant the great mother, Albania.

The Albanian Workers' Party delegation also made a visit to Sardinia, where it attended two meetings, one in Cagliari, the other in Carbonia. In Cagliari, we were told of the work being done by the party through various measures and organizations. At this meeting were representatives of the antifascist and

antiimperialist committees, and the organizations for youth, women, the unemployed, and shepherds, as well as other organizations. In Carbonia we met representatives of the workers in the main factories and important industrial centers of the province. The men and women comrades who spoke at these meetings told of the difficult situation of Italian workers and employees, particularly in Sardinia, which the monopolistic capitalists of Italy treat like a colony. They told us how neglected agriculture and the raising of livestock were there, how entire mines and factories were closed, and people forced to leave their homes and families and go to France, Belgium and Germany to find work.

The workers, some of whom had formerly belonged to the revisionist party, spoke angrily about its treason, and that of the trade-union leaders, toward the working class and its interests. They called Berlinguer "Don Enrico" because he had really become a count and priest, and was attempting to stifle the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and subjugate it to the system of bourgeois oppression and exploitation. The wickedness of the bourgeoisie, said the workers, goes so far as to try to make us believe that we should accept sacrifices to save capitalism; they tell us that "the working class makes sacrifices in Albania, too;" or they try to persuade the workers, particularly the unemployed, to do voluntary work by telling us that "the workers do voluntary work in Albania, too." The revisionists advisedly conceal the differences between the socialist and capitalist orders; they conceal the great truth that the working class in Albania is in power and that it works for itself and the people, not for the bourgeoisie and the capitalists.

The workers have defeated the efforts of revisionists and trade-union leaders to restrict the struggle of the working class to current demands within the capitalist system and lessen its revolutionary prospects, and they have refuted their preaching to the effect that spontaneous consciousness is sufficient for the working class and hence there is no need for political and ideological revolt. They argued in favor of the working class's need for a revolutionary party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, as a leading staff in its class struggle for the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Italian proletariat has such a party now. It is the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party. In the course of more than 10 years, it has proven that it is a true party of the working class, expressing and defending its interests and guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine and adherence to proletarian internationalism. It is waging a determined war against the two superpowers, the reactionary bourgeoisie and the danger of fascism and modern revisionism and every kind of opportunism.

During the Rome demonstration, as at all other meetings, the Albanian Workers' Party delegation acquainted Italian workers and employees with the work and struggle of our party and people to successfully build socialism and defend the victories of the revolution, as well as with our party's views and stands on the most important questions regarding present world developments and the Marxist-Leninist movement.

The policy of our party and state and, in particular, Comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the Seventh Party Congress, which they evaluated as a great programmatic

document for the successful construction of socialism in Albania, and also as a valuable contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the strengthening of proletarian internationalism, were referred to with admiration everywhere. The overall results of the visit of our party's delegation to Italy were very positive. It helped to strengthen ties and collaboration between Marxist-Leninist parties, which is so necessary for the unity of the proletariat itself and the people in their revolutionary struggle for liberation. The Rome demonstration, like all other meetings, made it possible for sister parties to come to know each other's situation, problems and experiences better, and, on this basis, further strengthen all-around collaboration in the common struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and achieve victory for socialism and communism.

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CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

INCREASED ATTENTION TO MILITARY TRAINING URGED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 May 77 pp 2-3

[Article by Maliq Sadushi: "Let Us Further Revolutionize Training By Making It Easy to Understand, Meaningful and Quickly Executed"]

[Text] The struggle to enforce the historic decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings has raised to a higher degree the social consciousness and revolutionary mobilization in all aspects of defense, for the further revolutionization of political-military training, and surmount at all cost the situation of imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade by consistently applying the principle of self-reliance. It has further increased initiative and creative spirit in fulfilling the requirements of our popular military art and sharpening political and ideological vigilance, so as to prevent the emergence of alien bourgeois-revisionist manifestations and traces of the old regressive method and style of work. At the same time, it has increased faith in our own resources to confront every difficulty and perform with complete success as well as exceed, all tasks and objectives; it has also further strengthened military preparedness.

Armed with these teachings, the members of our armed forces, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, are further consolidating the great victories and successes achieved in all areas of the struggle against the consequences of the hostile activity of the putschist and traitorous group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako, and they are strengthening their fighting spirit and daily recording new successes and victories.

Of special importance within this framework is a more thorough understanding and more creative application of the three basic principles defined by Comrade Enver Hoxha; namely, that military training shall be easy to understand, meaningful and quickly executed. Its purpose is to achieve a requirement set by the party--that the laws of our military science, the laws of popular warfare, shall become the property not only of military cadres and soldiers, but also of all the working masses of the country.

These three basic principles, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, absolutely must be used in conjunction with texts, lectures and practical exercises. The successful application of these three principles in combat training requires,

above all, a correct political and ideological understanding of them. It is the permanent duty of the party organs and organizations, the commands and the staffs and every communist and cadre, in particular, to daily involve themselves more deeply in educational and persuasive work with the rank-and-file and the cadres concerning the necessity of applying these principles as an indispensable condition for adequate military training and preparedness to meet any situation in war time.

This task will be properly accomplished when the party committees and basic organizations improve the education of military cadres in viewing and solving the problems of training with a political orientation. When the cadres properly understand the questions and become thoroughly familiar with the problems of instruction and exercise, able to master them, they are in a position to impart them most clearly to their subordinates. Naturally, the achievement of this imposes the necessity of increasing the efficiency of the party's political work with the cadres and the rank-and-file, course attendants, pupils, students and volunteers. Practice has taught us that only when we increase people's political consciousness, and accompany education with fuller organizational measures, can we successfully execute all the tasks in the defense field. The party's orders and Comrade Enver's teachings must be well understood by every cadre, soldier, student, pupil and volunteer, and they must strive to apply them in a creative manner, since they must not become mere mechanical performers of the tasks set, but must be simultaneously creative. Hence, cadres, soldiers, pupils, students and volunteers, must together exert themselves more, anneal their wills, increase their consciousness and steel proletarian discipline; otherwise, they cannot properly assimilate the military art, the demands of regulations, weapons and combat technology, and so forth.

To properly apply Comrade Enver's three principles, the cadres must, in addition to attaining ideological elevation, also become masters of their profession. This means that every cadre must, above all, possess a deep passion for his task, engage in persistent struggle to perfect his profession through continual study, execute well the demands of our popular military art and military regulations and must master his weapons well, in addition to developing practical aptitudes as much as possible, since theoretical knowledge without the necessary practical skills is adornment without value. Insurance of these qualities in our cadres can only be achieved by continual study and restudy to learn the regulations and increase the knowledge gained from school or courses, as well as by striving to put them into effect during the training process. A person's knowledge will dry up with the passage of time unless he continues to study; his ideological, cultural and technical-professional level will also decline with time, and, as a consequence, he will not be able to develop the instruction or training to a high quality. Instruction not only fails to attain its object, but it also becomes boring and incomprehensible. Therefore, our cadres must bear in mind the injunction of Comrade Enver that it is important to consider how the cadres are taught to read, the manner in which they read and the benefit they derive from that reading.

Insurance of such technical-professional aptitude, with the broadest ideological-theoretical, methodical, technical and practical base, will result in the elevation of the instructor or cadres to the level of the requirements set by the party for the political-military training of all the people. Only so is it possible for the pedagog, instructor or cadre engaged in instruction to become a good director who will guide training from beginning to end by personal example as well. The instructor or properly trained cadre, after technical explanation, personally gives the practical instruction, in full conformity with the concrete situation, and does so in a perfect manner, acting quickly and agilely according to the requirements of regulations. He thus more easily persuades his subordinates to perform the activities as they should and nothing will be left obscured or incomprehensible; rather, they will try with all their might to learn as much as they can from their instructor. Good example in this area should be generalized by the party organs and organizations and the commands and staffs, and there should be no perfunctory marching, or methods of learning, such as occur in some cases with certain cadres who, in their pedagogical and instruction work, forget the injunction of Comrade Enver that nothing should be taught "perfunctorily," simply for the sake of instruction; rather, everything should be digested and assimilated by our cadres, since it is only when they master the science well themselves that will they be in a position to teach it to others as well. This injunction of Comrade Enver's must make all communists and cadres reflect deeply and cause us to make a persistent effort, based on scientific methods, to find forms and methods suitable to every task and every situation and terrain in which we operate.

In order for training to be simplified, it is necessary that the active and reservist cadres receive all-around well studied and programmed preparation in order to master the abundant political, military and scientific knowledge, and refresh it constantly. The better and more thoroughly the cadre is qualified, and the more political and military skills he has acquired, the more concrete, and easier to grasp and assimilate, will the instruction and training be. Having acquired a rich theoretical and practical background, he will find it easier to shift the "center of gravity" from excessive verbiage and theorizing to practical demonstration of the material taught, or specific actions. No one needs the verbiage, academisms or intellectualisms used by some to give the appearance that they "have culture." The personal example of the cadres in training, especially in tactical exercises, in the handling of all types of weapons and in every other military operation plays a prime role in this, but we should not understand this merely as physical participation, or as "ordering" or "observing." The point is that the cadres should, above all, link theoretical questions with practical ones in a functional manner and, after having done so, should themselves get in the mud, stick it out and enter camp with the soldiers, they should be the first to perform the most difficult operations on the drill grounds, make serious preparations to instruct the ranks and utilize the material base efficiently, since it is only in this way that formalism be concretely combated and the participants gain what they should. At the same time, training is simplified when it proceeds from the easier to the more difficult, from the little to the big, from minor exercises to those of a higher degree, with care being taken to ensure that the minor tactical operations

correspond and harmonize fully with tactical operations on a larger scale. The conduct of training in this manner makes it easy for the troops to understand and assimilate instruction. This is accomplished when a proper fight is waged against the classic concepts that underrate training of the individual, the squad and the team, against ready-made and copied schemes in the development of training as well as against slavish repetition and stereotyping, and when a lively combat atmosphere is created on the drill grounds, with the creative work of the cadres stimulating, activating and setting in motion every participant in the exercises.

The practical application of the principle that training should be made meaningful requires, above all, that cadres of all ranks immerse themselves in the study, analysis and assimilation of our popular military art, in close conjunction with our party's Marxist-Leninist ideology, the revolutionary practice of the People's Army, the valuable experience of our antifascist War of National Liberation and the experience gained from the wars of various peoples for freedom and independence. Study and scientific generalizations in this field assume special importance in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, and must absolutely be converted, as the party enjoins, into a permanent operational model by all the commands and staffs and all cadres, without exception. This is a serious and very responsible aspect of the performance of defense tasks, requiring an uninterrupted expansion and deepening of ideopolitical, military and scientific knowledge in the fight against alien concepts. As in every other field of life, the problems of the army and defense have their own dynamics and dialectical development. Consequently, they can be dealt with when military cadres immerse themselves, as revolutionaries, in the study of Marxist-Leninist science and generalizations with regard to the practical application of the laws of people's warfare. To do this properly, and to enrich and further deepen the experience gained in the combat training of our armed forces, require, among other things, a daily struggle against the superficiality and empiricism, routine and narrow partiality noted in the work of some cadres. The fight against these manifestations will be waged by those cadres who best immerse themselves in the treatment of instructional matters, make concrete scientific analyses of subjects in close conjunction with the task and the place, take into account the new requirements and the level of the armed forces, and follow and apply the mass line in their training, opinions and experience, considering this a basic condition for meaningful training.

Conducting training that is quickly executed requires, above all, a thorough political understanding and a correct appreciation, with all due seriousness, of the situations in which we live, and for which we are preparing ourselves. Therefore, it requires the ability to orient oneself in time and view and conduct training with the utmost seriousness, not as a "game," but considering it from start to finish as a theater of war, so that the operations may be carried out, as in war, immediately, quickly and precisely by all participants in the training. Under conditions of war, there is a need for rapid orientation in changing situations, initiative and independent action, urgency, speed and precision, in setting tasks and performing operations, combating manifestations of bureaucratism, officialism, slothfulness and lack of operatively, liberalism, the tendency to "wait and see," trepidation and underestimation.

Those positive qualities must be inculcated now, in peacetime, through continual exercises, since in the long run any weakness in training today will cost us dear tomorrow in war. The party and Comrade Enver have instilled marvelous qualities and properties in the cadres but we must not be self-complacent; rather, we should consider them a strong basis for further deepening and enriching the experiences of the cadres. The aim is for everyone to be capable, at any time, of making quick and correct decisions, preparing proper combat positions, and, in due time, opening fire quickly and accurately, each coordinating his own actions with those of comrades, launching an attack with hurricane speed to escape the enemy's fire and annihilating him with the same speed.

An essential matter directly affecting the application of the three basic principles of Comrade Enver concerning training is that of the construction and content of the political-combat training programs. It is an indispensable requirement that they not only be pervaded throughout with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our party, but that they respond completely to the requirements of our popular military art, so as to teach the soldiers, course attendants, students, pupils and volunteers what they need to know about warfare. The programs that have been drafted for the military schools and the army units fully reflect the purposes and requirements of our popular military art, but of great importance are the struggle and efforts that must be made to apply them in practice and analyze them in accordance with the special conditions and combat tasks of each unit by concrete planning on a scientific basis.

In order for the planning to be well studied and scientific in nature, it is necessary, above all, to have a good knowledge of the various subjects developed and the role and purpose of each in the program. Planning must always begin with the simplest and proceed to the more complex, preserving the order of the lessons and subjects and properly combining the knowledge obtained from one subject with the other subjects. It is also important to interrelate all the subjects in an organized manner so that they reinforce each other. For example, application of masks should be taught before tactical operations by the soldier and the subunit. In spite of the good work being done in applying these criteria in planning, there is still room for more depth, planning as scientific as possible so as to respond better to the above-mentioned requirements, since there are cases, especially in the military schools, where violations are committed and difficulties created in carrying out and sufficiently assimilating the program.

To properly apply the basic principles in training, we have to devote great attention to the fight against oversimplification in tactical exercises in connection with the activity of the enemy (supposed enemy) whom we face, since this not only dilutes instruction but gives subordinates in training a false impression of the enemy's actions in warfare. In all training it is necessary, in evaluating the enemy, to enforce the requirement that we should neither overestimate the enemy, since this would lead to passivity and defeat, nor underestimate the enemy, for this would lead us into military adventure. Both the former and the latter are contrary to the demands of our popular military art and the military line of our party. The party admonishes us that

the soldier in war must be vigilant, have an understanding of his situation and that of the enemy facing him, let his imagination work for him and bear in mind or picture the combination of events that may be created by combat.

The application of the three basic principles in training likewise requires that the mass line and worker-soldier control be placed on a sounder basis in the whole training process, on the basis of the party's order that the material-training base be continually improved.

The experience accumulated in the fight to revolutionize political-combat training, make training easier to understand, meaningful and quickly executed is real, concrete and inspiring everywhere in our armed forces. Without being intoxicated by success, we must consolidate and constantly deepen this experience, step up the tempo and, by thorough ideopolitical, organizational and military work, ensure a more thorough understanding and an ever creative application of these three basic principles by all the commands, staffs, cadres and soldiers. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Seventh Party Congress, "the defense of the fatherland always remains a duty above all others, a great cause for all the people. All of us are afoot, alert and prepared to defend liberty and the victories of the revolution."

10002

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

WEST URGED TO ADMIT MORE BULGARIAN TOURISTS

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 13 Jun 77 p 7

[Article by Encho Gospodinov: "If Two People Are Filling the Basket..."]

[Text] "The successes achieved in the struggle for strengthening the peace are not the limit but the starting point for new actions."

This statement by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev may be used as a slogan by all those who, on 15 June, will take their places around the discussion table in Belgrade, firmly convinced that a great deal depends on them--all those people who would like to see the world of the future as a field of cooperation and understanding, rather than a battle field, for the struggle for peace guarantees the greatest right of mankind--the right to life.

The representatives of the 35 members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe who signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on 1 August 1975 will meet in Belgrade in two days for the purpose of continuing and developing the spirit of what was accomplished in the Finnish Capitol and reassert, in practical terms, their good will. Helsinki became a historical landmark in the struggle for a peaceful world. Nevertheless, it is only one of the many landmarks which should mark and guarantee this world.

A great deal was accomplished before arriving to Helsinki. A great deal was accomplished in the period after the conference as well. However, there were also many obstacles and quibbling on the part of those who feared the loss of initiative. Yet, the structure of peace and understanding is so big and complex that no nation or government could erect it themselves, however sincerely and profoundly they may wish to do so.

In our epoch peace is indivisible. The more and the faster the ranks of those who realize this multiply the better it will be for our children and grandchildren, for all those who will come after us.

True to their systematic policy of good neighborly relations, cooperation, and peace, uninfluenced by circumstantial considerations, the Bulgarian Government and Bulgarian people welcome the new Belgrade initiative and

believe that it will mark the triumph of sober political judgment and good will, for this will benefit all nations without exception.

Slightly before noon a middle-aged man entered one of the Bulgarian Embassies in Western Europe. He identified himself as a businessman and asked for a service visa for Bulgaria, for he had to conclude urgently a mutually profitable deal with a Bulgarian firm. The official heard him out carefully, noted his understanding, and gave him four blanks to fill. Looking at the tens of items to be filled, the foreigner became confused and looked questioningly at the Bulgarian official. Realizing that in addition to these four forms he was asked to add another four photographs and sign a statement on the rules governing visits by foreigners and would have to wait a number of days, the foreigner put down the forms and sadly mumbled: "This is an insult, gentlemen! What is the point of all this if I am to be in Sofia in three days?"

The official looked at him mockingly and indifferently shrugged his shoulders.

Stop! Nothing like this has happened!

The incident is imaginary but could have been real had our authorities applied the principle of reciprocity with the foreigner's country in issuing visas.

Fortunately, we do not apply this principle and the merchant was given his visa on the spot. The next day he was met at Sofia Airport by his partners.

The case we describe, however, is factual here, in Sofia, and occurs frequently in a number of embassies whenever Bulgarian officials or businessmen have to take a trip to the corresponding country. This applies to private individuals as well.

In this case forms with innumerable entries and requests for several photographs are not fabricated. They indeed exist.

Nearly two years ago, in Helsinki, 35 European countries, the United States, and Canada put their signatures under the following lines:

"The participating countries, viewing the development of contacts as an important element in strengthening friendly relations and trust among nations,

...set as their objective to facilitate the freer movement and contacts on an individual and collective, unofficial, and official basis among people, institutions, and organizations of participating countries, and to assist in the solution of problems of humanitarian nature arising in this area, and proclaim their readiness to take to this effect measures they deem suitable and conclude among them, whenever necessary, accords or reach agreements."

As we know, the Bulgarian People's Republic is one of the tourist crossroads of Europe. A great deal has been written about it but it would be useful to repeat that our country has one of the most liberal visa systems in the world.

Between 1967 and 1976 Bulgaria concluded agreements for waiving visas or instituting an easier visa system with 28 countries. As of 1973, by decision of our government, a non-visa system was introduced unilaterally (extended to the end of 1977) for all foreign citizens who would wish to visit our country as tourists.

Foreigners who have no possibility to obtain visas from our diplomatic or consular missions may receive them by mail.

Furthermore, our diplomatic missions abroad issue visas to foreign citizens wishing to visit our country for business matters or attend conferences, symposiums, sports events, and others, on the spot or, in the case of private visits, within seven days. This could be appreciated best by Bulgarian citizens who have been waiting for several months for visas from Western embassies in Sofia to visit relatives.

In the spirit of Helsinki our country is willing to introduce new facilities for foreigners wishing to visit Bulgaria.

The plan calls for the elimination of everything, even the single form and single photograph, should the country of the citizen would apply the same rules to Bulgarian citizens.

It would be difficult to enumerate all facilities made in our country for the benefit of foreigners. Since mention is being made of the spirit of Helsinki and of facilitating contacts among people, the Bulgarian People's Republic is giving the best example of how to fill the third basket. We note with satisfaction that of late Britain, the FRG, and France are also taking positive steps in this direction.

Most importantly, foreign citizens wishing to visit Bulgaria are granted their visas on the basis of the simplest possible procedure: filling a form and supplying one photograph, and even they could be replaced merely by a statistical card. The importance of this could be seen by comparing the procedure with the documents to be filled by a Bulgarian citizen wishing to visit a western country.

Since this is the summer season and many Bulgarians are preparing to travel abroad it would be useful for them to know the following:

If you are traveling to a western country you should expect an occurrence of the case we described: four forms, four photographs, declarations, and more patience. The waiting may last several months. This has already been proved to Vasil Todorov Ivanov, Luiza Silvio, Vera Dragomirova Kazandzhiva, Mariya Petrova Ilieva, Savinka Khristova Kozhukharova, Borislav Nikolov Tsenov, Neda Mineva Vasileva, and many others. Some of them have already received their visas while others are still waiting. They are the ones who understand best what an empty third basket means.

If you are traveling to another western country: three or four photographs plus a form, and what a form? It includes questions which are justified but also questions such as:

"Places of residence you have lived for six or more months after the age of 16 (begin with present address and list backward);" or "Organizations of which you have been a member for the past ten years and positions you have held in them;" Or else: "Mother's maiden name," and so on, 16 questions (with subquestions) more or less like O'Henry's "Hymeneus' Handbook".

The waiting period varies.

Should you wish to visit yet another western country as a tourist or visitor you must fill four forms and provide four photographs (God forbid if you are a scientific worker or journalist--six forms with photographs!). In some cases you must wait up to three months. There are "only" some 30 questions to be answered! Should you wish to go to a fourth country and stay over three months you would need the following: two photographs and two forms with 27 questions each which would include the following: "Do you have a police record?", "When and where?", "Type and duration of punishment", "Do you suffer from contagious diseases?", "If yes, which?" The waiting period depends on the case.

Another country would ask you in its voluminous questionnaire: "What is your maiden name if you are or have been married?" "Do you intend to look for work or become a permanent resident?" "If you are staying in a hotel indicate its name and address" (the answer "through the embassy" is not sufficient)...

If you are going to...and so on. A great deal of patience, many photographs, and many forms which could fill many a basket are required but not the third basket...

Yet, this basket must be filled. The Bulgarian People's Republic is doing everything possible to accomplish this.

In 1974 603,608 Bulgarian citizens traveled abroad; their number rose to 675,224 in 1975, and 703,883 in 1976. In other words, every year one out of 12 Bulgarian citizens go abroad. How many countries throughout the world could boast of such a figure?

There are 8,092 Bulgarian citizens working or studying in capitalist countries, or a total of 14,000 together with the members of their families. A total of 5,428 Bulgarian specialists work for various economic departments in developing countries. A large percentage of them, however, must fill various questionnaires every time they travel and have a number of photographs available since in the course of their travel they cross several countries.

In 1976-1977 57 people were allowed to return to their homeland after the expiration of the amnesty deadline. Yet another 100 were allowed to visit relatives in Bulgaria.

Figures have also their language. Sometimes this language is far more convincing than tall tales. This can be seen clearly particularly now when the time has come to peek into the four baskets and see what they contain two years after the Helsinki Conference. It turns out that the third basket is half empty, and that it directly affects the content of the first two.

When two people take to the woods for mushrooms the basket fills up faster. However, when a person is alone the basket may remain half empty. This is the case with the third Helsinki basket as well. It should be filled not only by Eastern but Western Europe as well, and by the last two of the 35 countries. Everyone would benefit from this.

The "Presian Case"

Meanwhile a mother is continuing to write letters to the United Nations, to Romesh Chandra, to the Italian Government, to the International Red Cross, and to who knows where else. For the past three years ten-year-old Presian Antonov Nikolov has been held in Italy and it is in vain that his parents here, in Bulgaria, have been trying to bring him back. The Italian authorities have converted the question from humanitarian to juridical, thus delaying a solution to the fate of the small Presian. Instead of returning the child to his parents, the Italian administrative authorities are turning the matter over to the court. Currently the child is at the B. Gosio de Borgeto di Grottaferata Institute. The claim that the Italian authorities are being guided by the "positive and humane spirit" of the Helsinki Final Act in the solution of this matter within the framework of the international obligations undertaken by Italy sounds unconvincing.

Even a domestic radio station stressed, in its 7 April commentary, that "information sources close to the Italian Foreign Ministry state that bearing in mind standard Italian legal procedures it would be rather improbable that the court would agree to the repatriation of the boy to Bulgaria..."

Where is in such a case the "good spirit of Helsinki?" It seems as though it had been pushed back into the bottle, as in the fairy tale...with the difference that in this case the "bad jinni" is the one to be tamed.

5003

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG'S ECONOMIC INSTABILITY REDUCES IMMIGRATION

Prague CTK in English 0930 GMT 7 Jul 77 LD

[Text] Prague, July 7, CETEKA--The economic instability in the Federal Republic of Germany has led many of the Czechoslovak citizens who wanted to move and settle there to withdraw their requests for a permission to emigrate, because they have come to appreciate the secure existence in the socialist society, RUDE PRAVO noted today.

Even the revanchist propaganda no longer dares today to brandish high figures representing, it claims, applications for permission to emigrate from Czechoslovakia. Christian Democratic deputy Herbert Hupka of course expressed concern recently over the destiny of Germans wanting to move out from socialist countries to the FRG, and did brandish absurd data.

The truth is that Czechoslovak authorities adhere to existing conventions and act liberally in this respect. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher himself said at the end of January that the trend in granting permissions to emigrate from Czechoslovakia is positive: 848 people moved out from Czechoslovakia to the FRG last year, compared with 518 in 1975.

RUDE PRAVO noted that FRG authorities, on the other hand, have not given immigration permits to some people who wanted to move to the country, even though they were ethnic Germans.

"Herr Hupka need not worry: Czechoslovakia approaches this issue, too, in keeping with the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, and proceeds in the same way in granting entry visas to FRG citizens who, to the obvious displeasure of Herr Hupka, Becher and their likes, come to Czechoslovakia in growing numbers to see the socialist reality," RUDE PRAVO stated.

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ANSA VIEWS CHANGE IN VATICAN-CSSR RELATIONS

Rome ANSA in English 1945 GMT 2 Jul 77 AU

[Text] Rome, July 2 (ANSA)--A series of gestures marking a further relaxation in tensions between Czechoslovakia and the Holy See has accompanied the naming of Msgr. Frantisek Tomasek as Cardinal and his return to Prague after a month-long stay in Rome during which he received the cardinal's hat from Pope Paul VI.

For the first time since the Second World War, the Czechoslovak Embassy here marked the new cardinal's appointment with a reception in his honor attended by high-ranking Vatican officials, and the ambassadors from all the East European countries apart from Albania.

In another postwar first, Msgr. Tomasek is offering a reception in Prague early next week for the Czechoslovak authorities.

The reception will be held in the episcopal palace located alongside the castle used as the Czechoslovak presidential residence.

Apart from these official get-togethers, Vatican observers noted other signs of (?detente between) the Prague Government and the Catholic Church:

In June, Father John Bukowski of the Vatican Secretariat of State visited six of the eight Czechoslovak dioceses left without a bishop and reported back to the Pope.

For the first time in 20 years, eight Franciscan nuns from Chemia received permission from the Prague Government to visit Rome for the general assembly of their order.

Czechoslovakia is the only Warsaw Pact country with a Catholic majority and large problems were left pending with the Catholic Church.

The new climate in church-state relations led some observers to speculate that new bishops would be named for the eight out of thirteen sees left without a residential head.

Relations between Prague and the Holy See, which were particularly difficult in the fifties during Stalinism, showed small signs of improvement with Alexander Dubcek in 1968, and they returned to the old tension after his ouster. But contacts were never broken off entirely.

For some time, there were twice yearly meetings between the two sides in Rome or Prague, even though no satisfactory results were achieved.

The traditional Cardinal's Palace in Prague has been untenanted for more than 20 years. The last occupant was Cardinal [name indistinct] who was exiled to Bohemia and then came to Rome where he died in 1969.

In the same year, Pope Paul named Bishop Stefan Trochta as a Cardinal "in pectore." The appointment was only revealed in 1973 and received a cold welcome in Prague.

In 1974 the cardinal, who many thought would get the Prague archbishopric, died and the situation once again got complicated.

Cardinal Tomasek is not going to Prague as archbishop, but only as "apostolic administrator," a provisional title he has held for about 15 years.

CSO: 2020

DATA SUPPLIED ON FDGB ELECTION RESULTS

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 11, May 77 pp 14-16

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Labor Union Elections in the GDR"]

[Text] At the 9th FDGB Congress, which took place in East Berlin from 16-19 May 1977, 3,009 delegates representing the 8,373,000 members of the FDGB participated. The delegates--51 percent were women--elected the members of the National Executive Committee, which--up to now--has counted 200 members and 25 candidates (up to now 24). The number of members of the Presidium of the National Executive Committee was reduced from 32 to 26, with the excluded members of the Presidium, however, remaining as members of the Executive Committee with one exception. Harry Tisch, 50-year old SED Politburo member, who in April 1975 had been appointed to this office as successor to the deceased Herbert Warnke, was reelected as chairman of the National Executive Committee. As deputy chairman SED Central Committee member Professor Dr Johanna Toepfer, 48 years old, was confirmed in the office which she has held since May 1968. For the other deputy chairman and chief of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee, Wolfgang Beyreuther, no successor was appointed. On 28 April of this year, he was appointed state secretary for labor and wages in the GDR Council of Ministers.

Of the seven secretaries of the FDGB National Executive Committee, six were reelected. To replace Helmut Thiele, who on 8 May of this year had been elected as chairman of the Public Service Union, the 36-year old Kurt Zahn (SED) was appointed as secretary, who up to now was secretary of the FDJ [Free German Youth] central council.

The union elections, which now have been concluded with the elections of the top executive organs, had begun in November of last year. At more than 350,000 election meetings, the FDGB members in the plants had named their

representatives. Approximately 1.7 million members received FDGB functions, including about 280,000 plant representatives and circa 970,000 cultural deputies, sports organizers, deputies for social security and people in charge of labor safety. More than 40 percent of these functionaries are women, and almost 16 percent were under 25 years of age at the time of the election.

In January and February of this year the new executive organs were determined at meetings of the kreis delegates of the individual unions and the FDGB Kreis Executive Committees were elected. From March to May 1977, the corresponding delegate conferences and elections finally took place at the bezirk level.

In these elections new bezirk chairmen were elected in three bezirks (Leipzig, Neubrandenburg, Schwerin). Only SED members ran for election, since every FDGB chairman of a bezirk is ex officio a member of the appropriate bezirk administration.

The following functionaries were elected or reelected in the individual bezirks:

		In office since:
Berlin (East)	Rudolf Hoepfner	March 1968
Cottbus	Albert Enke	April 1958
Dresden	Gerhard Gruhl	April 1973
Erfurt	Karl Kuron	May 1953
Frankfurt/Oder	Otto Schmidt	June 1960
Gera	Guenter Mueller	Sep 1966
Halle	Richard Pieper	June 1971
Karl-Marx-Stadt	Albert Wappler	Nov 1967
Leipzig	Fritz Seiffert	March 1977
Magdeburg	Heinz Kuehnau	June 1973
Neubrandenburg	Horst Rusch	March 1977
Potsdam	Arthur Czadzeck	June 1960
Rostock	Heinz Hanns	March 1967
Schwerin	Walter Resch	March 1977
Suhl	Horst Brandt	March 1968

The FDGB bezirk chairman with the most seniority is Karl Kuron (Erfurt) (in office since May 1953). Kuron is also the only FDGB bezirk chairman who is a member of the SED central committee (as a candidate since January 1963).

At the conferences of delegates from the central organs of the industrial labor unions (IG) and non-industrial unions (Gew.) the central executive committees were newly elected. Within the FDGB there are 8 industrial trade unions and 8 non-industrial unions. They, of course, are not independent individual unions, but function as branch divisions which have to put into effect the binding decisions of the central organs of the FDGB

(of these unions, the Union of the Civilian Employees of the National People's Army [NVA] was founded only in the year 1973).

In the elections of the central executive committees of these individual unions only the chairmen of the IG Transport Telecommunications and the Gew. public service were newly elected, all other chairmen were confirmed in office.

The names of the chairmen of the central executive committees of the industrial labor unions or non-industrial unions:

	Chairman	In office since:
IG Construction/Wood	Lothar Lindner	September 1958
IG Mining/Energy	Erhard Ullrich	April 1976
IG Chemistry, Glass and Ceramics	Werner Oertelt	June 1967
IG Printing and Paper	Heinz Deckert	April 1968
Gew. Health	Dr Elfriede Gerboth	April 1968
Gew. Trade, Food and Luxury Items	Charlotte Welm	April 1958
Gew. Art	Herbert Bischoff	November 1975
Gew. Agriculture, Foodstuffs and Forestry	Fritz Mueller	December 1968
IG Metals	Reinhard Sommer	February 1961
Gew. Public Service	Helmut Thiele	May 1977
IG Textiles/Clothing/Leather	Charlotte Bombal	March 1975
IG Transport/Telecommunications	Karl Kalauch	April 1977
Gew. Instruction and Education	Paul Ruhig	December 1964
IG Wismut	Herbert Strienitz	November 1966
Gew. Science	Horst Sander	May 1972
Gew. Civilian Employees of the National People's Army (NVA)	Horst Glaeser	July 1973

All chairmen of these individual unions are members of the SED, Lothar Lindner (IG Construction/Wood) is the only one of them who is a member of the SED Central Committee (as candidate since 1976). Lindner and Charlotte Welm exercise their functions as chairmen since 1958. Charlotte Welm has been a labor union head for an even longer period of time: already from 1954 to 1958 she was chairman of the Gew. Trade, Luxury Items and Restaurants, which in 1958 was renamed Gew. Trade, Food and Luxury Items.

After a long time membership figures for the individual unions were again made public at this year's delegate conferences; the figures are missing merely for the IG Wismut and the Gew. Civilian Employees of the National People's Army (NVA).

The membership figures for the industrial labor unions and non-industrial unions:

IG Construction/Wood		843,000
IG Mining/Energy		380,000
IG Chemistry, Glass and Ceramics	more than	500,000
IG Printing and Paper		151,000
Gew. Health	more than	420,000
Gew. Trade, Food and Luxury Items		950,000
Gew. Art	more than	60,000
Gew. Agriculture, Foodstuffs and Forestry		564,000
IG Metals		1,600,000
Gew. Public Service		640,000
IG Textiles/Clothing/Leather		610,000
IG Transport/Telecommunications	more than	720,000
Gew. Instruction and Education		430,000
Gew. Science	more than	130,000

The missing figures for the IG Wismut and the Gew. of Civilian Employees of the National People's Army (NVA) can be calculated approximately on the basis of the ratio of delegates. Accordingly, up to 200,000 labor union members were allowed to send up to 300 delegates to the labor union congress. The IG Wismut had 285 delegates, consequently its likely membership is slightly under 200,000. The Union of Civilian Employees of the National People's Army (NVA) sent 230 delegates, which amounts to a membership figure of about 125,000 (a basis for comparison in this case is the Gew. Science, which with "a membership of more than 130,000" had sent 235 delegates).

8970

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

MAY 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 May 77 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 5, May 77, signed to press 11 Apr 77, pp 513-640: "Prepare the Youth Well for the Future." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] How can the youth best be enabled to master the great tasks arising from the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the creation of fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism? Five authors deal with this question in the May issue of EINHEIT--Margot Honecker, minister for public education; Wolfgang Herger, Gerhart Neuner, Guenter Boehme and Wolfgang Spitzner.

Margot Honecker writes that in view of the fact that the young generation now growing up will be fully effective in social life only in 10-20 years, it is of practical significance that the Ninth SED Congress has placed the perfection of communist education at the center of the work of the school. The point, she says, is to give continuous consideration to linking the school even more closely with practice. The suggestion to pay greater attention to orienting the youth toward communist ideals, the author says, is important.

Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in another article deals with the advantages of socialism. His contribution, substantiated with interesting figures, proves the following: A decisive criterion of these advantages is the unity of economic and social policy whose implementation mobilizes strong forces.

Other contributions deal with topical lessons of the "Anti-Duehring" treatise [by Friedrich Engels] and with the position of women in the capitalist countries. A Marx manuscript of 1851 entitled "Reflection" is published for the first time as a prerelease in EINHEIT. In it Karl Marx comments among other things on questions of the capitalist money wage. The work will be included in the "Complete Collected Works of Marx and Engels" (MEGA).

EAST GERMANY

MINISTER EMPHASIZES UNITY OF SCIENCE AND IDEOLOGY IN EDUCATION

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 5, May 77 signed to press 11 Apr 77
pp 527-538

[Article by Margot Honecker, minister for public education, SED Central Committee member: "Youth Must Be Prepared for the Communist Future."
The article is based on a lecture, titled, "On Some Questions of Communist Education in View of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress," given by the author on 15 Nov 76 at the SED CC's Karl Marx Party College and published by the latter in "Lectures and Papers"]

[Text] The educational policy decisions of the Ninth Party Congress aim at forming all round developed personalities with a fine general science education and brought up in the spirit of the world-outlook and morality of the workers class. Communist education as a task for the present embraces the entire educational and training process and requires that the school be still more closely combined with life and that its polytechnical character be still further developed. The direct participation of the workers class and of the cooperative farmers in communist education is of decisive importance in preparing the youth for its present and future tasks.

The status report to the Ninth Party Congress and the party program are stressing the need for further developing in substance our ten-year general education polytechnical secondary school and for further perfecting the whole system of public education -- from the kindergarten via the school, day-nurseries, the special schools, adult education schools, youth aid and institutionalized upbringing, all the way to the training of teachers and educators. That amounts to saying that in the field of public education too the line of a smoothly continuing qualitative further development that had already been worked out by the Eighth Party Congress is being carried on consistently. And here the party lets itself be guided by the consideration that especially in educational policy, which concerns the education of the children, continuity is an indispensable precondition for further improving the level of pedagogic work.

The goal, content and tasks of our school are determined by the character of our social order, by the social processes of development and our social conditions and requirements. In its school policy the SED has always proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist realization that our solving the tasks in public education is directly connected with the conquest and consolidation of the political power by the workers class and that all the education and training work of our schools has to be aimed at assisting the workers class in fulfilling its historic mission, the construction of socialist and communist society.

At the Ninth Party Congress the party assigned itself the task "to continue devoting its attention to perfecting our uniform socialist educational system and, in particular, to the communist education of our young generation"¹ for the reason that the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the creation of fundamental preconditions for the transition to communism absolutely require that youth be enabled to master the great and complicated tasks it will be confronted with in the construction of socialism and communism.

The basic line for our further development of our school policy is part and parcel of the strategy and tactics of the party, which has always looked at public education as an inseparable component of the theory and practice of the socialist revolution.

Communist Education -- A Task for the Present

In determining the concrete tasks in public education the Ninth Party Congress deliberately proceeded from the objective interdependence between society and school, which Marxism-Leninism has revealed. Our party has always derived school policy tasks from overall social requirements and always seen to it that social relations in their entirety -- the economic, political, ideological relations -- would affect the education and training of people and also that, conversely, education and training would actively affect the social processes.

We always look at the development of our productive forces, the economy, education, ideology and culture in their unity and interdependence. The transformation of our school system is an outcome of the revolutionary transformation of the foundations of our society, an outcome of the struggle for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it is at the same time an important precondition for consolidating our workers and farmers' state and for the further development of our socialist society. It is from this dialectics that one always has to proceed in our pedagogic work. It is the task of the school to prepare the young people for their active partnership in this society of theirs. It means enabling them for the tasks that must now be solved and also equipping them well for life in future decades. For the school is training a generation today which will only become fully effective in the economy, in science and culture, and in social life, some 10 to 20 years from now. It is of very great practical importance therefore for our pedagogic work that the Ninth Party Congress has placed the perfection of communist education at the center of the work of the school, as we already today have to form those human characteristics that will help shape the communist society.

There is nothing new in our aiming our entire education at the communist world-outlook and morality. Focusing on the communist ideals in educational work has nothing in common with any kind of disoriented notion of some abstract, idealized image of man. We have always thought of communist education as of a process for the development of personality, as a task of forming, under any given concrete, historic conditions, those people who are shaping the new society. In all its phases of development, our party, proceeding from the historic conditions and requirements of social construction, has placed at the center the concrete tasks resulting therefrom. In that light then, the demand of the Ninth Congress to educate youth in the communist way is no new requirement, which of course does not obviate the need for a higher quality of education. As little as we have ignored, throughout the various stages of our social development, the final goal of establishing the communist society, we also have always concentrated in our education on preparing the youth for creating that society. As there are no rigid boundaries between socialism and communism, there also is no formal separation between socialist and communist education.

Educational work finds of immediate and practical importance the profound comprehension offered by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, of the two phases of communist society as one unified form of society as well as the facts that the transition from the one to the other phase of communist society will take a long time and that the first phase of communism, while still inflicted with the residues of the old society, yet contains the germs for the future society. That view alone makes it understandable that, and why, communist education is a concrete task of the present.

Education follows no abstract formulas, Nor can its results be gaged, day by day, against a moral code. This is a live process with its own contradictions. It is affected by the school, the family, the various social factors, by what is new in our development as well as by still surviving residues of the old and, not last, also by influences from imperialist ideology. While we do proceed from the consideration that with the change of social relations and the revolutionary transformation of the material base of society changed also are the superstructure, the ideology, the culture, the relations among people, their consciousness and their morality, all this still does not happen spontaneously, but scientific direction is needed from the Marxist-Leninist party. Education is a socially determined process which must be directed systematically and shaped consciously and purposefully on the basis of scientific insights.

The Ninth Party Congress asked that young people were to be formed who, equipped with solid knowledge and skills, are capable of creative thought and independent action, whose Marxist-Leninist world-outlook pervades their personal convictions and attitudes, whose sentiments, thoughts and actions are those of patriots of our socialist fatherland and of proletarian internationalists, who develop their skills and gifts for the good of socialist society, and who excel in their love for their work and their defense readiness, in their communal spirit and their aspirations after high communist ideals.²

In order to bring such an educational program to realization it is necessary to put into effect the valid general doctrine of Lenin to the effect that all training and education has to focus on forming the world-outlook and morality of the workers class. We fully understand communist education in Lenin's sense as the totality of our educational and training work, as conveying a fine education, as ideological, physical, intellectual, ethical and moral education. It cannot practically be reduced to individual sides and aspects, nor is it suitable for the practical work in school to place the emphasis on labor education now, and then on internationalist education or on esthetic education. Moral education cannot be separated from ideological education. Practical educational work does not benefit from being one-sided.

A High Level of Education -- A Basic Element of Socialist Life

The Ninth Party Congress has repeatedly and emphatically underscored the importance for our practical revolutionary struggle of knowledge, of consciousness, and of scientifically sound theory. Thereby the party has taken account of the Marxist-Leninist realization that the subjective factor is gaining increasing importance in our society which is being constructed in accordance with scientific laws, through conscious human action, and is steadily being perfected. A high level of education is at the same time an indispensable prerequisite for human creativity, a basic element of socialist life. The shaping of the socialist present and the communist future being described, in the Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress and the party program, as a process of profound changes also in the intellectual-cultural area, this expresses the Marxist-Leninist realization that the social liberation of man is inseparably connected with his intellectual liberation, that there exists a dialectical connection between the two sides of this revolutionary process. It explains why the Ninth Party Congress devoted so much attention to public education and its further development.

Objectively higher demands are arising for public education from the general orientation of the party at consistently continuing our political course -- the main task in its unity between economic and social policy. If in connection with the main task a special point is made of the decisive role of economics, the perfection of the material-technical base of our society, it is always done with the understanding that the meaning of socialism, to do everything for the good of the people, is being put into effect at a steadily higher stage. It is necessary to improve the volume, level, efficiency and quality of production because that will improve the development and satisfaction of the material needs and, with them, the spiritual-cultural needs as well. After all, the whole point in implementing the unity of economic and social policy is to create ever improving conditions for the further shaping of the way of life that is appropriate to socialism, of those qualities and values that are tantamount to developed socialism. It is a matter of ever better conditions for the all round development of personality. And the task the school has in this is to help significantly in forming the new man and in raising his intellectual-cultural level in the sense of our realization that ultimately socialism and communism aim at the free, all round development of personality.

In the developed socialist society, the party program says, there are to be created the political, ideological, social, intellectual-cultural and material conditions "for the social relations and physical and intellectual abilities of men to be able to fully develop and for providing possibilities for them to fill their lives with content and culture and for having the thought and actions of the working people shaped by socialist ideology, the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook of the workers class."³

Our view on the all round developed personality as the goal of our education is based on the insights by Marx, Engels and Lenin about the role of man within the process of social development, an element of their scientific social theory. Proceeding from an analysis of bourgeois society and the historic position of the proletariat, the founders of Marxism-Leninism established the scientific doctrine on the nature of man, his social character and the ways for his changes and higher development. They provided the evidence that the construction of the new, communist society is inconceivable without educating the new type of man.

Marxism-Leninism conceives of the development of the total individual, the all round developed personality, as a process in which man lifts himself onto ever higher levels of culture mainly through his work and consciously masters and shapes the social conditions as well as nature. As Marx and Engels have shown, even under capitalism, with the emergence of modern industry and the increasing socialization of production, the all round development of man becomes an objective requirement, but it cannot be implemented under the exploitation conditions. The fact that the means of production are privately owned rather cripples and degrades man more and more, physically as well as intellectually. Tied down by the capitalist production relations, man cannot develop his gifts and abilities all around. Only through the socialist revolution, based on the association of liberated people, are the conditions created for man to be able to develop his abilities in all directions.

By means of particularly vociferous propaganda right now, the adversary is saying the idea of the all round personality is an illusion, an ideal that cannot be obtained. And that is nothing new. There always has hidden behind that claim the attempt to justify the one-sidedness, the intellectual and physical crippling of man under capitalism, and to disguise the fact that that society cannot assure youth of the free development of its creative abilities. We must in our ideological class struggle by no means underrate, however, those efforts by the adversary, as they also are aimed against our school policy and educational system. All these attacks have the one purpose of impressing our people with the idea they should strive for a "different" or "freer" socialism. As alternative for the Marxist-Leninist personality theory, the imperialist ideologues are offering us the theory of the "free individual, free from ideological and social coercion." This ultimately ends in the demand for an "anti-authoritarian, free education," for unbridled individualism. Yet life, contrary to all such recommendations, has proven the irrevocable truth of Marxism-Leninism that only through the conquest of

the political power by the workers class, the socialization of the means of production and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man the pre-conditions arise for man to be able to gain his self-realization and to develop his personality.

Scientific General Education for All the People's Children

A high level of knowledge, a general education based on science, is a decisive premise for forming the all round developed personality, for without scientific education communist education cannot be brought to realization. That is in line with what Lenin has said: "It would be erroneous to believe it is enough to acquire the communist slogans, the conclusions of communist science without acquiring the sum total of knowledge the very result of which leads to communism."⁴

Our socialist school, in contrast to the school in the antagonistic class society, furnishes youth with a scientific image of the world. Only Marxism-Leninism can give access to the objective inevitabilities in the development of nature and society. Only the ideology of dialectic and historical materialism it has founded supplies with a rigorously scientific character all the manifestations and processes of nature, society and thought, and all the insights of the separate sciences based thereon. This view dominates all the teaching in our socialist school, all the material of instruction in all the different courses. This is the way in which Marxism-Leninism, in the unity of its components and as a method, is the foundation of our general education. And this also explains the fact that for the first time the general education in the socialist school is of a truly scientific nature for the good of the people's children.

The scientific character of our general education finds its expression in the selection of what is taught, which focuses on the basic knowledge needed for comprehending the inevitabilities and interconnections and for understanding the fundamental theoretical statements, which is acquired by the appropriate knowledge of data and facts. The scientific character of our general education is also reflected in the ways and means by which we teach; they proceed from the laws of cognition and are based on the basic scientific insights of pedagogics and psychology. This implies our Marxist view of the relationship between theory and practice. And that is why the Ninth Party Congress demanded that the connection between school and life, between theory and practice, be strengthened further. This basic position of our Marxist-Leninist school policy has always been the determinant for the selection of what we teach and the manner in which we do it. Yet one must always again gage against existing social requirements how and on what level in training and education this connection between theory and practice has been brought to realization.

Preparing youth for life, for work, requires that the school lays firmly and securely the foundations for the all round development of socialist personalities that the young people will need as active members and coshapers of our

society in their work, political struggle and personal life. This can only be achieved if youth, through the process of training and education, is made familiar with surrounding social reality, with the tasks, problems and processes of social development so that it will be able to participate in the further shaping of society actively and deliberately, and in the transformation of nature for the benefit of man. It is therefore an important task to teach the youth to comprehend the world as it is today, to instruct the young people in the dynamics of the processes of social development and to enable them in recognizing, behind the manifold manifestations of life, the nature, impulses and inevitabilities of the processes and the contradictions working within, so that they will themselves become active on behalf of social progress. The point is to enable the youth to view and judge all problems of life itself on the basis of real insights from the vantage point of the working class.

We would ill serve our task of preparing youth for life, were we to ignore in our education the problems that are inherent to the forward thrust of society, by presenting the social processes in a "chemically purified manner," as it were. Doing that would be as detrimental to our education as it would be if we were to be looking constantly only for conflicts and contradictions in our life, thereby failing to orient the youth toward what is new and progressive. That kind of education in the final analysis would terminate in a basically pessimistic position. It would be just as wrong to assume one could do without ideals in the education of youth. This is an aspect we have to give greater attention to in the future. Aspiring after our communist ideals and awakening the willingness in youth to bring them to realization is of fundamental importance to its education and to the development of its needs for achieving great things. In proceeding from the realization that socialism is deliberately being shaped by men, we must enable the youth to engage itself entirely in serving our ideals of socialism.

The sum and substance of our socialist general education is the unity between science and ideology. It is based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of scientific method and party-mindedness, of the unity of education and training, of studying and productive work, of the inseparable connection between theory and practice. Through acquiring fundamental knowledge, abilities and skills, the students are led, through all instruction, to an understanding of the essential interrelations and laws, the general inevitabilities of nature, society and human thought, as set down scientifically by Marxism-Leninism.

Social science instruction, especially civics and history, is of special importance in this regard. That is why the Ninth Party Congress asked for greater attention to social science instruction. This is where the students get their foundations in Marxism-Leninism. It is not easy, however, to instruct the young people between 13 and 16 in Marxism-Leninism in a strictly scientific and vivid manner closely in touch with current political party events. That is why we have to think, time and again, about how to teach Marxism-Leninism as appropriate to age-groups, truly scientifically, not in an abstract but an understandable and convincing manner. Many teachers are

succeeding in this more and more, but they need constant help in still more closely combining the fundamental data and insights of Marxism-Leninism with our scientific party policy, with a comprehension for the worldwide class conflict between socialism and imperialism. They must become better qualified in providing the kind of instruction that will make the students form their own standpoints.

Natural science is of great importance to developing a scientific concept of the world. Biology, physics, chemistry and astronomy make their specific contributions to ideological education and training, for it is through natural science instruction that the students are brought to an understanding of the materiality of the world, of its being cognizable and of the objective inevitabilities of its development. The scientific-technical revolution is calling for increasing mastery over the natural processes and for the knowledge about the inevitabilities working within them. This provides increased importance for solid mathematics and natural science knowledge and expertise. And so the Marxist-Leninist training for mathematics and natural science teachers calls for special attention; they must become still more familiar with topical science issues and with the development of technology and production.

The Further Shaping of the Polytechnical Character of Our Secondary School

Our school is a polytechnical school. That is characteristic of a socialist school. In contrast to the bourgeois school, it is closely in touch with life. Polytechnical education and training is the principle, the basic feature, of all our general education. It was, after all, the socialist school that brought to realization the insight Marx had into combining instruction with gymnastics and productive work which, according to Karl Marx, is not only "a method for increasing social production but also the only method for producing all round developed people."⁵

Polytechnical education and training has now been for decades the standard procedure of all our school activities, improved all along. Further to develop the polytechnical character of our school, as called for by the Ninth Party Congress, merely means consistently continuing this road from the vantage point of the requirements raised by communist education. And it is not only a matter of polytechnical instruction per se, for the preparation for work is of course not limited exclusively to the productive work in which the students are engaged during instruction in production, even if the education for work by working does occupy a decisive place in the communist educational system. Preparing youth for life, for work, entails the entire process of education and training. Solid natural science and social science knowledge must be given, and science must be taught in all subjects in such a way that a still closer connection with life is provided and the unity of theory and practice is accomplished still better.

If we want to equip the growing generation with solid knowledge and skills and educate it into conscious people with rich initiatives, we must further

plan to connect still more intimately our school, all our education and training, with the practical task of socialist construction and with production, that is to say, with the struggle of the working people for the construction of socialism and communism in Lenin's sense.

It has become apparent even today that scientific-technical progress, the struggle for raising our labor productivity, calls for educated and creative people, and that a fine general education and solid knowledge and skills in the social sciences and the natural sciences are indispensable for the mastery over modern technology and production, for coping with today's tasks and, all the more, with the tasks of the future. Under the conditions of our dynamically proceeding scientific-technical development, the field for those labor activities is broadening considerably that are calling for great knowledge, independent thinking, creative approaches, quick reaction and a highly developed sense of responsibility. Considering that techniques and technology are constantly improving in industry, construction and agriculture, all working people, especially the young ones, need greater technical knowledge to meet what is expected of them in their occupations and to be able themselves to contribute actively to continued progress. Ever greater importance attaches to skill in this, to the development of creativity, to the ability in quickly reacting to growing requirements and activities, that is to say, to widely diverse employability. All the more our young people need a fine scientific general education in close combination with practical experience, and the teachers are confronted with the task of paying greater attention to the practical utility of knowledge and skills in all subject matters and still better instruct their students in the practical application of scientific data in technology and production at a high theoretical level.

So mathematics and natural science instruction must be improved. What the students learn must become more solid. They must become more familiar with the basic laws and theories. They must better comprehend the interdependence of technology, economics, production and society. And they must learn better still to apply their theoretic knowledge in practice. Concrete examples must be used from the enterprises, from production and technology to demonstrate to the students the theoretical data in application. And they must get more of an opportunity for solving practical technological and production tasks. In turn, the knowledge and experience they have gained from the polytechnical instruction in the enterprises must be brought to bear more effectively on natural science and social science instruction.

It is, of course, also necessary further to develop the polytechnical character of our school mainly in terms of the quality of theoretical and practical training in the special polytechnical subject matters, to find out what knowledge, skills and facilities the students are getting from it and how polytechnical instruction helps concretely in education, especially in molding a communist work attitude. Practice has shown productive work to be of a high educational value provided the students get concrete and accountable tasks to perform that are part of the plans of the enterprise, they are assigned personal and collective responsibilities for the management, preparation, implementation

and accountability in students production, participate directly in competition and get directly involved in what is going on within the enterprise, in the life of the brigades. Polytechnical instruction, productive student labor, also must take place in a real, production-related atmosphere.

Life has shown how right the principle is to conceive of instruction in specialized polytechnical subject matters as a firm component of our socialist general education and have it carried out within the socialist enterprises and cooperatives. It has by now become self-understood in our enterprises and cooperatives to carry out the polytechnical training for our students. Great recognition is warranted for the working people who are meeting all the tasks pertinent to it with a sense of responsibility, love, great expertise and a wealth of ideas. The students acquire rudimentary knowledge and skills in labor through their practical productive work as well as in the subjects of technical drawing and introduction to socialist production. Thereby polytechnical instruction is laying important foundations for the occupational training that comes later, and the advanced training institutions can systematically build further on this basis.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism have proven that polytechnical training and education as an irrevocable prerequisite for the all round development of man cannot be brought to realization under capitalist conditions. There is a great deal of talk going around right now about "preparing the youth for the world of labor" within bourgeois pedagogics, which has always been denigrating our polytechnical education and has been accusing us of reducing the Marxist principle of all round personality to one of "all round usability." While we are pursuing the goal of preparing the youth on the basis of a high scientific general education, which includes polytechnical education, for work in the communist society and are developing all round the creative capacities and capabilities of the young people, the so-called "preparation for the world of labor" in the bourgeois school in the final analysis aims at adapting the young generation to capitalist exploitation.

Instilling love for science in youth and arousing its interest in technology and production are matters that also must be looked at from the vantage point of our gaining mastery over scientific-technical progress in a manner that would conform to the socialist character of our society. The progress in science and technology has given man great power over nature. In view of current and future developments this would raise the question of how we today can best prepare the youth for coping with the problems posed for mankind, for example those of environmental protection. The future generations must assume an ever growing responsibility for maintaining nature as the basis for the existence of human life and for making ever more comprehensive use of it for the benefit of man. That is why one must start with the young people when they are still very young in instilling in them a proper attitude toward nature, respect for life, and love for the natural environment. New problems and requirements placed on youth result from the fact that man is going out into space more deeply all the time and that the results of space research, of space exploration, are being used for the tapping of new natural resources. New requirements, not last, arise from the intensification

processes in the integration of the fraternal socialist countries, ranging over large periods and dimensions, of which we may rightly say even today that here it is where the young generation meets its historic task. Thus the compelling need derives from the fact of man's becoming more and more the master of nature and society for youth to be enabled to learn constantly, think creatively, and work and act responsibly.

Education in Communist World-Outlook and Morality

As the Ninth Party Congress has emphasized, under the conditions of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, the current course of the revolutionary world process and the intensification of the class struggle, the ideological education of youth and molding its class point of view is the decisive task in communist education. This, after all, is a matter of instilling in youth firm convictions, positions and attitudes that conform with the ideals of socialism and communism, which means shaping the communist world-outlook and morality. In educating youth, we must always again recall the old wisdom: If one wants to have a compass in the struggle of life, it is necessary to look at all issues of the world, all politics, economics, culture and the way of life, with these questions in mind: "Who benefits?" and "Who, which class, is served by what?" Youth must learn early to approach in this sense, with scientific objectivity, all manifestations and processes of social life and judge them from the standpoint of the working class. This is a decisive principle we can pass on to youth to take along on its way into life. And we must always be aware that the more our society advances, the more new questions there will be raised. In school we are dealing with growing personalities developing under constantly changing internal and external conditions.

In making a special point of the fact that greater importance attaches to education in communist morality we have in mind that communist morality ultimately means doing everything for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of communism. For that reason we have to ponder seriously the meaning for our present educational work of Lenin's remark that communism begins "where plain workers in a selfless way, coping with hard work, concern themselves with improving the labor productivity, with protecting every pound of grain, coal, iron and other products, not for the benefit of the worker himself or those who are close to him but those who are remote, that is, all society in its entirety."⁶ That is a whole program for communist education. It embraces the formation of a communist attitude toward work and, strictly speaking, the whole scale of characteristics and attitudes by communist people, the mutual relations as the education in responsibility, discipline and selflessness. For school education this means to consider how we can educate all children from early childhood so they will feel responsible for the whole -- starting out in their small community -- for the tasks assigned to the pupils, in getting used to fulfilling their duties. Communist education must start with assigning the pupils tasks they have to carry out themselves; then they get the feeling to have done something that serves a useful cause. Then only will they learn that only their own efforts will satisfy their demands, that one does not live at the expense of others and that one must not place one's own good above that of other people.

Our youth has a fine education and an increasing capacity and willingness for independent thought. It has the need to learn to be active creatively. It has an open mind toward politics, science, technology and culture. It is politically committed and interested in discussing topical events and ideological, philosophic and moral issues. That is a significant outcome of the party's educational work. With the Ninth Party Congress having made the point that ideological confrontation has to be carried on without break and in full intensity, we must not be oblivious to the fact that this has its own effects on the young too who have only little experience in the class struggle. That is why the political-ideological work with the young people has to become more thorough. It must be aimed at helping them acquire a firm standpoint which expresses itself in an active attitude toward their patriotic and internationalist obligations. That includes developing their willingness and ability to defend socialism and preparing them rigorously and systematically for the protection of the achievements of socialist and communist construction.

Our youth wants to discuss things objectively. That requires a style of political-ideological work showing strength of principle and tact at once and helping the growing generation in finding its own answers and questions and in coming to take issue independently with the problems of life from a class-bound position. Thus, young people must be made independent. That kind of education in independence presupposes a target-directed pedagogic leadership, because self-education is what is to be instilled in the young people. One's own stand in judgments and in drawing conclusions does, after all, call for a certain degree of maturity. In turning against tutelage in education and in calling for the development of self-reliance in the pupils, we do not mean to leave the educational process to itself. Without education in self-reliance, self-reliance cannot develop. Pedagogic guidance aimed at the development of activity and independence still implies, not last, making demands on youth.

Behind our educational work stands Marx' idea that man develops through his active confrontation with his natural and social environment and acquires his own political and social experiences in this process. And this is not a spontaneous process either. Youth's active confrontation with the problems of life and the issues of our times must be target-directed and systematically organized, it must be firm in principle and directed with much understanding. For example, youth must learn that there is nothing extraordinary about there being problems developing along with the construction of an entirely new order of society such as ours, and it must offer its own solutions by actively taking part. That cannot be achieved by sermonizing or so-called verbal instruction; it calls for convincing argumentation, for systematically organizing the political activities of youth and for assigning practical solutions of tasks in this process carried out under its own responsibility.

Here is an important field of work for our socialist children's and youth organizations. The Ninth Party Congress has made a special point of the decisive contribution by the FDJ and its "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneer organization to communist education. As a political children's and youth organization

it bears a great responsibility for their political education, for training them in aware and disciplined study, for meaningful and varied activities during leisure, for the formation of a communist attitude toward work and in enabling youth for the exercise of its democratic rights and duties. Of the greatest importance is its contribution to education in the collective and through the collective, the formation of collective modes of thought and conduct. Without politically organizing the children and youths, the girls and boys, on a voluntary basis, so that they will in unity, consciousness and discipline, then take part in the construction of the new society, an education into communist personalities is inconceivable. Lenin has pointed out that the socialist children's and youth organization was indispensable for the education of young communists, and that nothing else could substitute for it.

Proceeding from the thought that the responsibility for the education of youth in our socialist state lies with all of society, the Ninth Party Congress has underscored the responsibility the family has to bear. Through our entire policy, which aims at doing everything for man, at providing better housing conditions, gradually reducing working hours, extending the working people's leisure periods and further improving services, we also, and not last, pursue the goal of creating more favorable possibilities for structuring life within the family, for spending time with the children and their problems, for joint experience. The family bears a great responsibility for the development of character and morality in the young people and for molding such basic rules of intercommunal life as respect for the lives of fellowmen, love for truth, modesty, helpfulness and courtesy, which all have received their true content only in our socialist society. For especially through being together with siblings and parents and through the relations of those who are closest to the children, through the normal habits observed within the family, the development of the child is being most permanently affected.

The fact that no one can any longer ignore the reality of the socialist school, and in the desire to deflect from the miserable state of the educational system in bourgeois society, bourgeois school politicians and ideologues, wholly in line with their antisocialist subversion, find themselves induced to offer some so-called alternative solutions for our system of public education. They recommend, for example, we should make our school more "independent" of socialism, be "freer" in our education, not make such high demands in our instruction, abolish our grading system, or introduce the "pupils' self-evaluation in cultural and educational matters." In order to deflect from their own increasing politification which makes the entire bourgeois school system focus on anticommunist education, they are aiming their opposition primarily at the political objectives of our system of public education.

The school has never been and never will be unpolitical. The nature of education and of the school always depends on the class character of the state and of the ruling ideology. Communists have always been frank in admitting the political function the school has. If the bourgeoisie, against its better knowledge, is making a secret of the clearly political and ideological orientation of the bourgeois school in the spirit of anticommunism, it is, as Lenin has called it, a matter of lies and hypocrisy.

We are convinced the school, a social institution, is a power instrument by the ruling class for enforcing its policy. Our own school could develop so successfully because the SED has always taken for its point of departure the class interests of the working class. Conforming with the objective interests of all working people, our school policy is borne by the initiative, participation and creativity of the whole people. At an ever increasing scope, the parents, workers, cooperative farmers and members of the intelligentsia are taking part in bringing our school policy objectives to realization. Our school policy is successful because our party, always proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social processes, has scientifically established and elaborated its goal, substance and direction. And in doing so, it has always taken into consideration the experiences and insights gathered by the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, above all those of the CPSU.

Thus, under party leadership, and with consideration for any given social requirements and real possibilities, and with an eye to our communist future, a stable system of public education has been produced which assures our success in dealing with the tasks for the future phase of development as posed by the Ninth SED Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 48.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 48-49.
3. *Ibid.*, p 22.
4. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 275.
5. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 508.
6. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 417.

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EAST GERMANY

TASKS OF YOUTH MASS ORGANIZATION REVIEWED

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[Article by Dr Wolfgang Herger, department chief in SED Central Committee:
"GDR Youth in Revolutionary Test"]

[Text] Proceeding from the Ninth Part Congress, the essential principles of the SED's Marxist-Leninist youth policy are presented. Overall party strategy determines the tasks in the communist education of youth. It faces its main test today in material production, in taking part in the struggle for the fulfillment of the main task. Molding its socialist mode of life is a fundamental concern in its communist education. The article treats important tasks of the FDJ, the strength of which lies in the leadership it receives from the SED.

The Ninth SED Congress has confirmed and made precise the fundamental positions of our party's Marxist-Leninist youth policy, applied them to the new stage of social development in the GDR and elaborated in concrete terms the youth policy tasks for the years to come. In this, our party has taken into account the experiences of the CPSU and of the other fraternal parties.

The 10th FDJ Parliament, with its resolution titled "FDJ Task Ninth Party Congress," initiated a youth mass movement by which it is making an important contribution to the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our country. It is one and the same thing for the FDJ to work for socialism, to learn, and to defend socialism.

Total Party Strategy and Communist Education

This is the first and foremost principle of our party's youth policy: The SED regards its youth policy as a firm element of its overall policy and always derives the tasks for youth from its fundamental objectives. As a

Marxist-Leninist party derives its strategy and tactics from its comprehension of the objectively valid tasks of any given social developmental stage, of the given phase in the struggle for the realization of the world historic mission of the workers class, so likewise the youth policy of this objectively valid party strategy and tactics is part and parcel of that developmental phase and receives its substance from it. It is in this sense that the Ninth Party Congress elaborated the consequences and new demands placed on the communist education of youth from the strategic tasks "further to shape in the GDR the developed socialist society whereby to create fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism."¹

Part of this educational work is to form unshakable loyalty to the communist ideals in all young people and to develop the unity of high general education, communist conviction and the appropriate modes of conduct. A communist regards as decisive the unity of knowledge, conviction and action on behalf of socialism and communism. He lives for the goals of the socialist revolution, struggles and works for them under any conditions and finds in them the purpose of his life.

The task of communist education is as old as the communist movement itself. It has time and again produced new generations of proponents of its cause. Among us today an essential characteristic in the communist education of youth lies in making youth aware that with the continued shaping of the developed socialist society we are creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. And this is a matter that concerns all young people. Their conscious participation in coping with this revolutionary task develops new social relations. New human characteristics originate through the selfless struggle for the fulfillment of plans in the youth brigades and youth projects, in the struggle for mastery over our scientific-technical progress, in the defense of socialism and the shaping of the socialist mode of life. The communist education of youth thus is no abstract slogan but everyday process and permanent task at once.

The second point underscored by the Ninth Party Congress is this: Youth policy has always been governed by the principle of having confidence in youth and assigning responsibility to it. The working youth, part and replenishment of the leading class in socialist society, merits special attention in this.

This principle follows from the earlier one mentioned above to the effect that the party's overall strategic task, ultimately the realization of the historic mission of the workers class, determines the substance of our youth policy. This is a quasi law in the development of socialism: If the growing generation is to be the pillar of society tomorrow, it must grow up to understand its future responsibility even today. And that in turn is only possible if it solves under its own responsibility, but alongside with experienced workers, socially significant tasks. The CPSU Central Committee has derived the following understanding from its 60 years of development since the Great Socialist October Revolution: "The party combines and enriches, through its expert knowledge, the experiences of all the generations of fighters for the

victory of the revolution, for socialism and communism, firmly welded together by their common interests and ideals. In the growing unity of all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities, and all generations of Soviet society lies the guarantee for new victories of the great cause of the October Revolution."²

This revolutionary unity of generations is forged mainly through their common struggle for the solution of the tasks of socialist and communist construction. If ever more important social projects are assigned to youth as youth projects (the Druzhba Line, further development of Berlin, projects from the science and technology state plans), it is done because our party recognizes this fundamental feature of socialism. So the demand can and must be raised that for all great social projects youth policy tasks should always also be considered. Therefore -- and this also follows from our youth law -- no executive document should be prepared, such as the five-year plans in the enterprises and combines, competition resolutions, intensification programs or plans for improving working and living conditions, without simultaneously defining precisely where the place of youth should lie in regard to it. The experiences conveyed by Wolfgang Biermann and Gerhard Wagner (EINHEIT, Nos 1 and 2, 1977) testify to the high educational and economic benefit that can be gained provided the executives make the proper use of this important advantage of socialism -- of having confidence in youth and assigning responsibilities to it. Scientific literature, for instance studies on the further development of socialist society, has thus far paid still insufficient attention to this principle.

The third point of emphasis at the Ninth Party Congress was this: It remains a priority task for youth to appropriate the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin and always to act, by word and deed, as socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists.

Only he who in the truest sense of the word makes Marxism-Leninism his own and bases all his thoughts and actions on it can be a real communist. There is an extraordinary relevance in Lenin's remark "that the youth association, and all youth at large wanting to become communist, has to study communism."³ The Ninth Party Congress singled out ideological work as the heart of party work. This fully applies to the party's work with youth. And more even than that: Higher demands than ever before have been placed on the quality and effectiveness of the ideological work with youth. Therefore, great social recognition is well warranted for the tens of thousands of party members working as propagandists in the FDJ study year.

The greater demand on ideological work with youth follows main from the growing responsibility youth has in participating in the shaping of the developed socialist society and thus, in creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism, that is to say, from the objectively valid task in its communist education; the conditions of the international class struggle between socialism and imperialism, especially the sharpening of the ideological struggle, in which the anticommunist strategy of interference and subversion aims at youth in a particular way; the fact that ever

new age group enter the youth age and that even under our social conditions their communist consciousness does not form by itself; and the higher education, greater political maturity and the constantly growing need for culture and information by youth itself, with the fact that greater knowledge per se will not always necessarily produce more stable socialist awareness and socialist attitudes.

The study of Marxism-Leninism therefore must not be some passive reception of knowledge congealing in pale formulas. It is rather more in line with our revolutionary theory that youth appropriates Marxism-Leninism as a party-minded and combative science. The test of its success ultimately lies in the conscious activities of all young people as socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists. The Ninth Party Congress has pointed to prominent fields fortifying it: the commitment to the all round strengthening of the GDR, to the further consolidation of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, to the rapprochement among the countries and nations of the socialist community, to the defense of socialism and to anti-imperialist solidarity.

The fourth point underscored by the Ninth Party Congress was this: The FDJ has always been the active helper and fighting reserve of the party. It mainly has the task to help the party raise steadfast fighters for establishing the communist society who act in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

This main FDJ task as rendered precise by the Ninth Party Congress brings together, as it were, all the principles of our Marxist-Leninist youth policy. In accordance with the party's overall strategy, it contains the education of youth to become fighters for establishing the communist society. It reflects the principle of having confidence in youth and assigning responsibilities to it, in that the party trusts the FDJ in receiving help from it in the education of youth. It clearly manifests the great responsibility incumbent upon the FDJ. And finally it also contains the task assigned to the FDJ of constantly instructing the youth in Marxism-Leninism.

To be an active party helper means, to the FDJ, explaining party policy to the young people and enlisting them in the implementation of its decisions. It means representing the basic interests of the young generation in the state and the society. It furthermore means directing the work of the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization on assignment from the party. And furthermore the FDJ has the honorable duty to prepare its best members -- mainly young workers and cooperative farmers -- in their decision to become members of the SED, the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class and the working people.

In all this lies an extraordinary demand on the quality of the work to be done on all levels in the FDJ, especially in the basic organizations and groups. The achievements by hundreds of thousands of young people in the "FDJ Task Ninth Party Congress" testify to the high degree to which the FDJ is living up to this demand.

The Main Field in Which to Meet the Revolutionary Test

Experiences in implementing our party's youth policy have shown that the active participation by youth in the practical struggle of the workers class for the strengthening and defense of socialism is a crucial condition for its communist education. The main field in which to meet the revolutionary test is material production, partnership in the struggle for fulfilling the main task.

For in the day by day struggle for the fulfillment of plans, for intensification, for accelerating the scientific-technical progress, youth helps strengthen the material-technical base and perfect the socialist production relations, whereby it contributes to creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. In solving the tasks of today, it is involved in laying essential foundations for its own secure future.

The effectiveness of ideological work is significantly expressed in the attitude toward work and socialist property and in the results of labor. Here one also finds the fruits of purposeful learning and studying in schools and vocational schools, colleges and technical schools. If the scientific-technical revolution is to be combined with the advantages of socialism, then there must be people who have learned how to master that process.

Essential characteristics of the socialist personality are formed through the work for socialism and communism: class consciousness, organization, collective spirit, creativity, discipline, defense readiness, a drive for constantly more education and the ability to take part in state and economic management decisions. Side by side with colleagues experienced in the class struggle and in work, the young worker here learns to live up to his responsibilities as a member of the leading class in our society. He realizes: "The work for the good of all is the most important cause in life."⁴

This is the sense in which the party organizations influence the youth and the FDJ has announced the five-year plan as its own fighting program. The more the FDJ aligns itself with the plan, the more it will, so to speak, become a first-rank economic factor itself.

In 1976, through FDJ initiatives, 45 million working hours were saved, more than M 1 billion were saved through the material economy, 307,319 tons of scrap were turned over and 6,659 apartments were converted or finished. Agriculture reduced the specific livestock feedstuff consumption by M 13.8 million. As many as 11,370 mechanizers could be added in the industrialized crop production. Equally ambitious economic targets have been announced for the 1977 planning year. All managers in industry, construction and agriculture would be well advised to consider these economic potentials when they are deliberating on the fulfillment of their plans and to work closely together with the FDJ managements.

Our experiences have taught us: the more extensive the tasks become in the organization of our society, the greater also become the demands on youth

and its political organization. Whereas the Maxhuetten water pipeline construction was still an industrial repair project, the construction of the Druzhba Line is already an important project in socialist economic integration. After the FDJ had assisted in settling new farmers in the youth village construction project, today, in the central "FDJ Initiative Berlin" youth project, 5,100 FDJ delegates from all bezirks are showing outstanding efforts toward the further development of our capital as the political, economic and cultural center of the GDR.

The course decided on by the Ninth Party Congress of deepening the production intensification and accelerating our scientific-technical progress also makes demands of new dimensions on youth. It not only calls for more knowledge, provided by the ten-grade polytechnical secondary schools, vocational schools, and advanced and technical schools, but it also promotes an ever closer combination between labor and constant study. At the Berlin conference for working youth in March 1977, Klaus Borchardt, shift engineer and FDJ group leader of the "10th World Festival" youth brigade in the Oberspreewälder Cable Plant, described how the processing of plastics had been assigned as a youth project -- being the largest investment project in that combine in 1974. "When our production got started, many difficulties had to be overcome that had to do with this entirely new technology and the very modern machinery and aggregates. To learn to run the installation we had to acquire the proper theory for it. During production, however, some ideas that had seemed perfectly logical did not seem to work in practice. The FDJ members of our youth brigade came up with many new ideas, made innovator suggestions and solved MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) tasks concerning advance operations of machinery, economic use of materials and reducing the idling and repair periods." And as the result, as the young comrade added: "This intensive search for an efficient operation of the installation assigned to us was the precondition for our being able to commit ourselves after the 10th Parliament to fulfill the 1976 annual plan in 50 weeks. And that we accomplished, 3 days ahead of time at that." This is the way for the new quality of socialist labor, combined with science and technology, to develop and, along with it, also the new quality of the socialist attitude toward labor and with it. They condition each other.

Many other examples could be given from other enterprises and areas to demonstrate youth participation in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. This becomes especially evident when matters are compared over longer periods of time:

	1965	1970	1975	1976
Members of MMM Movement	375,000	615,595	2,086,027	2,244,002
broken down into				
young workers	50,000	96,875	408,133	478,636
apprentices	45,000	87,554	261,843	262,562
young cooperative farmers	6,000	8,756	27,885	30,242

The participation of young workers in the innovator movement -- in relation to the number of young people employed -- developed as follows: in 1965, only 10.8 percent, in 1970, 17 percent, in 1975, 35.7 percent and in 1976, as much as 38.1 percent.

After the Ninth Party Congress and the 10th Parliament, youth involved itself still more vigorously with skills in science and technology. That is particularly true of the MMM movement. At the third session of the FDJ Central Council in December 1976, 19 tasks of the science and technology state plan were assigned as youth projects. Far-reaching initiatives for accelerating scientific-technical progress originated in the FDJ bezirk organizations under the slogans of "Youth, Science and Technology" or "Gaining Time through S + T." The 20th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the sixth performance exhibition of students and young scientists in the fall of 1977 will demonstrate the greater creativity of the youth in our country.

More and more youth brigades are taking on tasks of the science and technology plans in association with young engineers, scientists or students. The Peter Kaiser underground construction combine in Berlin, for example, which has enriched socialist competition after the fifth SED Central Committee session with its slogan of "a fine balance for every day," plans to work out and apply, through coordinators of its enterprise and scientists at the building academy, a new technology in laying concrete pipe for developing the ninth city district of Berlin. Or let us take the youth collective of comrade Guenther Stahn, who has a doctor's degree in engineering and is the general coordinator for the new home of the young pioneers in Berlin, which together with a youth brigade of the state-owned brick and tile plant of Grossraeschen, developed a new brick floor plate, the use of which saves more than M 3 million. Processes of the greatest social consequence thus are developing through the cooperation in practice among young workers and young members of the intelligentsia. Through its involvement in production intensification and in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, youth also contributes to the perfection of socialist production relations and helps in the rapprochement among the classes and strata in our society. And here social relations are forming that are imbued with working class ideology and are turning more and more into communist relations and modes of conduct.

Particularly favorable conditions for forming communist attitudes are found in youth brigades, that is in collectives of young workers, where socialist competition for highest achievements is a going concern -- often in concert with experienced colleagues. There one finds relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance conforming to the character of socialist production relations developing in a pronounced manner.

From 1971 to late 1976, the number of youth brigades has risen from 15,685 to 28,065. Some 8,000 more will be formed by 1980. If the party, FDJ and trade union now concentrate on turning all existing youth brigades into places of communist education, shock troops for socialist competition, and on forming many new ones, it in no way means that the work with the other young workers and cooperative farmers, or with the other strata of youth, will be neglected. On the contrary: experience in communist education is gained in the youth brigades that is of importance to all work with youth.

Molding the Socialist Way of Life

If our party sees to it "that the kind of social life and individual conduct in all areas of life that conforms to the developed socialist society is developing more and more"⁵ it applies to youth to a special extent. The forming of habits that accord with socialism, especially a socialist attitude toward work and public property, the forming of a world-outlook and the shaping of character are strongest in youth. If one considers the rapid sequence of developmental phases and decision situations connected with it (school graduation, apprenticeship, occupation, study, army, establishing a family, moving and so forth), the variety of social interconnections becomes apparent under which the socialist way of life is forming among the young people. The molding of the socialist way of life of youth thus becomes a fundamental task of communist education of youth.

Special attention attaches here -- along with the efforts by the parents, the teaches, the managers in enterprises and other social forces -- to the young people's own activities, their activities in the FDJ, even in the pioneer organization already. When the members of the pioneer organization or the FDJ to a large degree structure the life in their collectives themselves, elect their executives or solve socially important tasks, they learn to assume responsibility, and in this collectivity relationships arise through which it becomes more and more of a firm habit to participate in decisions on public affairs. Active participation in the pioneer and FDJ collectives thus is itself a fundamental component of the socialist way of life and its continuous perfection. These aspects should be taken more into account in theoretical studies on the development of the socialist way of life.

For the practical work with youth, especially in the FDJ, this means giving the proper attention to all aspects of the life of youth: to work and study, the working and living conditions and the participation in politics, culture, sports and defense education, the shaping of the socialist world-outlook and the assistance given to the solution of individual decisions in life.

In addition to work and study it is the leisure time devoted to culture that is of particular influence on the mode of life of youth. It is not by chance that the scope and variety of cultural life in the FDJ has grown noticeably in recent years. As it participates in lifting our people's material standard of living, so it also contributes to raising its cultural level. There has been a favorable development of its song and talent movement, youth dance music, FDJ youth clubs in residential areas, youth clubs in cultural and science facilities with their FDJ activist groups, youth tourism and many other things like these. The FDJ has allied itself here with many other social forces.

One can also see when one looks at youth that conscientious, honest, socially useful work not only is the heart of the socialist way of life,⁶ but that the politically organized work collective is the essential source of its development. That is made clear particularly by the work of the youth brigades. The elevation of the level of production which is so necessary for the

further shaping of the socialist society places ever new demands on the store of knowledge of young people, their moral qualities and their willingness to assume high responsibilities. These demands call for an all round developed man who can in every respect rely on a firmly structured collective. Thus it is quite logical that precisely out of these experiences came the slogan "Every youth brigade, every youth project, a center of great cultural activities." One should therefore also foster the youth brigades with an eye to the further shaping of the socialist way of life among working youth.

It is not so, of course, that all the diverse cultural movements in the FDJ are equally effective among the masses. But that is not really the point here. The point is that they result from the various interests and demands of the young people and encourage the formation of a broad and differentiated spectrum of various inclinations, talents and needs. And then there is the fact -- by no means to be underrated in view of the great social development processes going on in socialism -- that youths of the various strata are getting together through cultural encounters, in the FDJ singing clubs, for instance, where young workers, soldiers, pupils, students and so forth meet. Their membership in the FDJ or the involvement of those young people who are not organized in the FDJ does a lot for the feeling of fellowship and promotes the formation of social relations that are typical of the socialist way of life.

The Strength of the FDJ Lies in Party Leadership

The socialist and communist construction of society is, in essence, conscious mass activity. For the masses to participate in it, they absolutely must be organized politically. For the GDR youth the FDJ fulfills the demand raised by Lenin that socialism "is also brought to realization by organizations structured in such a way that they will awaken the masses and lift them up high into historic creativity."⁷ The FDJ is the unified mass organization for youth which it mobilizes on behalf of the party's policy. Our experience demonstrates: FDJ influence on all of our youth will be just as strong as is its own political and organizational strength, as solid as its groups and basic organizations. It would be impossible to cope with the communist education of youth without the FDJ, which embodies the revolutionary unity of youth.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev enunciated a basic insight of Marxist-Leninist youth policy when he said at the 17th Comsomol Congress that "the strength of the comsomol mainly lies in its leadership by the party and our constant concern, support and care for it."⁸ In line with that realization, the FDJ -- in harmony with the SED statute -- at the 10th Parliament included in its own statute the passage: "The FDJ works under SED leadership, regarding itself as its active helper and fighting reserve. All its activities are based on the program and decisions of the SED." This statement calls not only for deriving the FDJ tasks from the party decisions but also for familiarizing the FDJ members and all other young people with the party policy. In this, the FDJ gets all conceivable support from the party. Following the example given by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th Parliament, thousands of party functionaries are speaking to the youth about the Ninth Party Congress

whereby they are supporting the FDJ efforts at acquiring its own store of ideas. At activists' meetings of the bezirk party organizations in Erfurt and Neubrandenburg, thought was given to how youth could contribute to the fulfillment of political, economic and cultural tasks in these bezirks. It has been a proven practice of many executives of basic party organizations -- for instance in Rostock or in Karl-Marx-Stadt -- to engage in regular consultations with their FDJ executives. They in turn make use of the opportunities to bring up matters of their own work before the party executives. In party elections in the past many FDJ secretaries were elected onto the party executive boards.

Political leadership for the FDJ by the party always contains the effort to promote the youth organization's own responsibility and that of its executives. Of great importance is the assistance by the party organizations to the young comrades who help implement party decisions within the FDJ. Party assignments and accounting for them in the membership meetings, sponsorships by the more experienced comrades or special consultations with younger comrades also help strengthen qualitatively the party nucleus in the FDJ -- one out of every eight FDJ members is a member of the SED today -- so that the political leadership by the party and the FDJ's own responsibility can be assured at one and the same time. This is all the more true in as much as more than half of all young comrades exercise election functions in the FDJ -- altogether a great potential which is still unevenly distributed in the various FDJ organizations, however, and must become still more effective within the FDJ groups. The care the party bestows on the cadres in the youth organizations, and even in the pioneer organization, helps promote its own responsibility and, with it, replenishes party membership on a long-term basis. The SED proceeds along the lines of Lenin's 1913 polemics in which he fought against condemning any "premature" involvement of youth in politics as an antidemocratic point of view.⁹

Finally, another source of strength for the FDJ lies in the fact that hundreds of thousands of comrades are conveying to the young generation, and above all to the members of the FDJ, basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge and the revolutionary experiences in the struggle and the work of the workers class. Many older comrades feel a real need for working together with the FDJ. Comrade Rudi Wegner, for instance, an experienced miner and energy worker who assumed the sponsorship for a group of FDJ members in a difficult sector of the Bitterfeld soft coal combine, wrote: "Whether this will be my last party assignment in the enterprise, I do not know, for I have already been at retirement age for several years. It certainly has been the most beautiful one I have had, and I shall try to do what I can in fulfilling it."¹⁰

The approaching 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution also allows us to look back at many years of successful youth policy undertaken by the Marxist-Leninist parties. To apply that policy to the fulfillment of the Ninth Party Congress decisions is of important concern to the SED. In its "FDJ Task -- Ninth Party Congress," an unequivocal program was handed to the GDR youth. It focuses on the study of Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with the Ninth Party Congress decisions, on exemplary achievements

at work and at study and in the defense of socialism, and on giving a meaningful structure, in the socialist manner, to leisure time activities. Youth is called upon to strengthen the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and to act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to which the Fourth USSR-GDR Youth Friendship Festival at Volgograd and the friendship meeting with Polish youth in Frankfurt/Oder will testify. Tens of thousands of pioneers and FDJ members will show by their "Red October Festival" in fall 1977 how the GDR youth is today meeting its revolutionary test through producing great achievements in fulfillment of the Ninth Party Congress goals. That there is not one social sphere in which it does not take an active part is the law of our everyday existence in socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 9.
2. "On the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977.
3. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 273.
4. Erich Honecker, "Der IX. Parteitag der SED und die Aufgaben der Jugend" (The Ninth SED Congress and the Tasks of Youth), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 17.
5. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 53.
6. Cf. ibid., p 54.
7. V. I. Lenin, "The Next Tasks of the Soviet Power," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 259.
8. "L. I. Brezhnev at the 17th Comsomol Congress," "Jugend--Komsomol--Gesellschaft" (Youth--Comsomol-- Society), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 54.
9. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Growing Disproportion," "Werke," Vol 18, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 571.
10. NEUER WEG, No 19, 1976, p 860.

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EAST GERMANY

COMMUNIST YOUTH EDUCATION TO FOSTER SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM

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[Article by Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, member, SED Central Committee; president, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "Bringing Up Socialist Patriots and Proletarian Internationalists"]

[Text] Based on practical experiences, new conditions and results are being discussed in education toward socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. These values, firmly rooted in the majority of youth, are a secure foundation from which we can start in communist education, in the offensive struggle against nationalism and chauvinism. It is important to make a still more systematic use of the high level of education, including historical knowledge and the education in work and in the enterprise, and the students' knowledge and experiences resulting therefrom, in our patriotic and internationalist education.

Historical development ever since the days of the Red October has proven the vitality and dynamics of real socialism. "The optimistic hopes of the working people in all countries," as the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution states, "are tied up with socialism. Therein lies the strength of the example of the October Revolution, of the successes of the Soviet Union and of all other countries in the socialist community."¹ Among the values of socialism achieved by the working people under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party in the socialist countries, which control the way of life of the society and the individual alike, are the firm connection with the socialist fatherland, the irrevocable friendship with the Soviet Union, the cooperation with the socialist countries, proletarian internationalism and solidarity.²

Patriotism and Internationalism in the Thoughts, Feelings and Attitude of Youth

The loyalty by the working people in our republic to their socialist fatherland and their willingness to enhance and defence the achievements of socialism

are deeply rooted. The pride in being citizens of the first workers and farmers state on German soil combines with a new, socialist national consciousness that has absorbed the best traditions of the revolutionary German workers movement and everything progressive in German history. The Soviet people's act of liberation and its fraternal aid can never be forgotten. In all spheres of life, cooperation and friendly fellowship is developing between the citizens of the Soviet Union and of our republic. Friendship with the Soviet Union has become a matter of the heart for millions. The diverse relationships with the other countries of the socialist community are imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, friendly alliance and fraternal cooperation. In worldwide actions taken through anti-imperialist solidarity, as in the support for the liberation struggle by the Vietnamese people or in the solidarity with the patriots of Chile, the words and deeds of the working people in our country also are of great weight. Comrade M. A. Suslov said at the Ninth SED Congress: "Especially we would like to stress the fruitful results of the SED's work in overcoming the nationalist and chauvinist prejudices that German imperialism and fascism had bred and in educating the new man who distinguishes himself by loyalty to the lofty ideals of socialism, collective spirit and comradeship, and conscious international solidarity."³

The socialist school and youth organization have had an outstanding share in these revolutionary changes in the consciousness and attitudes of the people. More than 10 million citizens of our state have been brought up in this new school in the antifascist-democratic and socialist spirit. Millions of citizens have been decisively shaped by the FDJ as aware coshapers of our republic and active participants in the struggle by the fraternal socialist peoples and all other progressive forces. Their former pupils, the pioneers and FDJ members of past decades, today are the parents of a new generation.

For this new generation, socialism is a basic social experience from early childhood on. Political and social security and a clear social as well as individual perspective are matters they take for granted in their lives. Experience shows -- and various surveys confirm it -- that the vast majority of the young people are firmly embedded in socialism, in the GDR. There has been a smoothly flowing increase over the years in the children's and young people's love for their socialist homeland, in their socialist patriotism and in their new national consciousness. The fraternal relationships between the CPSU and the SED, the cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in all areas, the friendly encounters with Soviet soldiers who are protecting socialism on the territory of our republic, the liaison between schools in both countries, the comradeship in arms between soldiers of the NVA and the "regiment next door," the joint study, work and research by specialists, students and scientists, and the tourist travel to the USSR -- all these are formative matters for the citizens growing up in our country. New tasks and tests arise for youth from the inevitable process of progressive socialist economic integration and the continued rapprochement among the socialist peoples and nations, proving themselves a great source of strength for the solution of great tasks in the present and future. There is hardly a young worker in our enterprises who does not in one way or other help our republic fulfill its tasks as a reliable partner of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Young working

people of various countries are engaged in integration projects stationed in the territory of our republic or in other fraternal countries, and they are living together in friendship. Ever since passport and visa requirements were dropped between us and Poland and the CSSR, direct meetings have multiplied. Joint political actions by the youth organizations, youth meetings, international summer camps, friendship by correspondence and solidary aid are more and more affecting the internationalist thinking, feeling and attitudes of our young people. In all this lies one of the main reasons -- as surveys on the political-ideological development of youths carried on over a long period have shown -- why internationalist convictions and attitudes have strongly developed and been reinforced within the last decade. Among our youth "a socialist national consciousness is growing in which socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism organically combine."⁴

Among the specific conditions for the struggle in our country is that every advance made in our change of consciousness has always presupposed a bitter political and ideological conflict with an experienced imperialist adversary right next to us. At no time have the German imperialists and militarists resigned themselves to the fact that in some part of their former realm of domination imperialist power and exploitation relations have absolutely become a thing of the past, and that there exists a socialist state on German soil that is demonstrating the superiority of the socialist social order, of the values of socialism and of the new way of life with increasing conviction. The peoples will never forget the vast political, economic and ideological means used by the rulers of the FRG in trying to prevent the GDR from growing strong. Any lie, slander or distortion of history, any revival of chauvinist prejudices of the past was par for the course in the enemy's struggle against the GDR.

Just at this time we are confronted with an increase in revanchist, nationalistic and anti-detente activities in the FRG.⁵ Imperialism in the FRG tries to meet the steadily strengthening positions of socialism by nationalistic and chauvinistic counter-attacks. Especially at school and in youth education, their bitter anticommunism is coming to the fore more strongly in nationalistic and chauvinistic slogans directed against detente like the "will for reunification" or the "idea of a German nation," or in demagogic appeals to a presumed consciousness of "commonalty among all Germans."⁶ They are tenaciously propagating the notion that a unified German nation continues to exist as a "cultural community of common destiny." More and more they are resorting to such emotional-mystical categories, well-known from the past, as some common "blood relationship" or being "rooted to the soil." And recently they have been talking more and more about the need for the "revival of Prussian virtues." And then also there is again the notion of Germany as a "catalyst" for all-European history and culture.

True enough, some of the grossest distortions and fabrications in textbooks and other materials had to be eliminated under the pressure of circumstances. Yet this "cosmetic surgery" does not change the fact that all political education in the FRG continues to be under the complete influence of the so-called "German policy mission." The notorious principle of "Ostkunde" (Eastern research) was not only not abolished in conjunction with the changed political

situation but in the discussion of the "new" function of "Ostkunde" they have raised again the old revanchist question, for instance, with respect to the areas of Western Poland: "Are we to write that land off with all its political, social and cultural development, are we to dismiss our spiritual investment in it after having been forced to renounce our material holdings there?" And as to realities in the GDR, the same author says: "We are looking at these realities, to be sure, but we shall not recognize them and shall oppose them."⁷ In other words: As the power ratio at present prevents them from "materially" incorporating the GDR and large parts of Poland and the USSR, one should have to try to create the preconditions by "spiritual" means, that is, by ideological means, directed especially at the young people, for finding possibilities for it at a later time.

In our education and our ideological work we must never forget that we are in part confronted directly, under class struggle conditions, with reactionary class conceptions disseminated by the adversary concerning basic values such as nation or fatherland. There is great currency in the historical experience that a class-bound approach is a basic condition for bringing up young people in such a way that they will "always act, in word and deed, as socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists."⁸ An unequivocal class standpoint and passionate partiality on behalf of the cause of the workers class, of socialism, and against imperialism and war -- that has been, is and will remain the core of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The great advances made in the consciousness development of our working people and our youth are a firm foundation from which we may proceed toward further patriotic and internationalist education in our offensive struggle against any nationalism and chauvinism.

Solid Knowledge and Experiences

V. I. Lenin has formulated the fundamental insight of Marxist-Leninist pedagogy that one can become a communist only if one acquires the treasures of human knowledge and, with it, takes part actively in the struggle for communism alongside the workers and farmers.⁹ The world-outlook of the workers class is a scientific world-outlook. It must be taught and studied scientifically. And it is at the same time a practical guide for changing the world, for the struggle by the workers class and its allies.

The rulers have always known how to make use of the fact that love for one's country, patriotism, is rooted instinctually in men. History knows of magnificent acts of heroism for one's fatherland, but uncounted also are the crimes committed on behalf of a so-called patriotism. Patriotism, patriotic education as the bourgeoisie understood the concept was meant to replace clear understanding by blind sentiment, was meant to rouse and keep awake the "subconscious" emotions and moods. German imperialists and militarists have shown themselves past masters in it, and their nationalistic demagoguery of today indicates the continuity in the methods they have always employed. The rigorous rejection by the revolutionary labor movement of the "fatherland" slogans and of the "fatherland sentiments" as propagated by the rulers was based on bitter historic experiences, which also included the betrayal by rightist

social democratic leaders. The revolutionary workers movement pitted against all that "patriotic" stultification and agitation of the people by the bourgeoisie its own knowledge of its particular class situation, of the inevitabilities of history, the class solidarity with all the exploited and suppressed in one's own country and in other countries, revolutionary patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Today the workers class in the socialist countries, in alliance with all working people, has won its fatherland. Love for that fatherland, pride in the socialist achievements at home, socialist patriotism, are strong and deep sentiments. But these sentiments are anchored in the knowledge about the history, present and future of the socialist fatherland. And proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity likewise are based on the knowledge about the revolutionary world process, the struggle of the main revolutionary forces against imperialism and the processes and prospects of the association of the socialist countries. The youth in our country has received a solid education and is open to scientific demonstration and argumentation. The vast majority graduates from the ten-year secondary school and continues its education through vocational training, other advanced institutions and all through life. While in 1976, in the 45-50 age-group, 13.5 percent had a secondary school education, as much as 65.3 percent of the 25-30 age-group had such education. The interest and open-mindedness of youth is growing with respect to social science issues that have to do with patriotism, internationalism and solidarity. We therefore must start in patriotic and internationalist education -- as in communist education in general -- from the outstanding role that attaches to the submission and appropriation of solid knowledge.

The effect knowledge can have on the formation of convictions significantly depends on the experiences this knowledge encounters and on what is made of these experiences in the conveying of knowledge, that is to say, on how well the young people are enabled to "illuminate" their experiences in the light of their knowledge. And here we must take into consideration that youth gathers abundant experience through the strengthening and defense of socialism. For almost 20 years already, for example, students have been engaged in productive work in our enterprises within the scope of their polytechnical training. While still in school they are becoming familiar with the socialist enterprise, with production, with the struggle of the working people for the fulfillment of plans. At vacation time, thousands of pupils are working in socialist enterprises, and the number of those who in recreation and labor camps and in FDJ student brigades are engaged working on focal points of our construction has risen from 19,030 in 1971 to 179,000 in 1976. To this must be added the requirements, achievements and experiences through study, in sociopolitical work, in sports and in the scientific-technical and the artistic fields.

We must further take into account that, thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and thanks to the changed power ratio, the young generation in our country has grown up in peace. As the conditions in the GDR, however, are open to the world, our

children and youths get confronted in many ways with attempted influences by the adversary and with the "Western way of life." They sometimes find it difficult to understand the increasing intensity of the class struggle and how sophisticated the adversary's ideological diversion has become. Our youth is not brought up in a "glass cage." It has its own experiences of life, at work, in the class struggle. These experiences differ in many respects from those of previous generations. It is necessary to make use of these experiences in patriotic and internationalist education, especially when knowledge is imparted, and to "mobilize" it purposefully. Part of that is that the social experiences the young people acquire in socialism be made ever more conscious on their behalf. One only has to look at the crisis that is shaking the capitalist world, for example, to see that much that is taken for granted among us, under socialism, is by no means to be taken for granted on the other side, and here one may mention such fundamental human rights as the right to work and to education and to recreation, the equality of man and woman, and our social security. We have to help our young people in absorbing the experiences of our reality and in assessing from a class point of view the experiences of the class conflict with our adversary. That means the knowledge must be conveyed in such a way that the young people gain criteria for a class-oriented evaluation of their experiences and learn to apply these criteria. And one must also deliberately make use of possibilities that come through studies, at work and in sociopolitical life in order that the young people acquire the experiences necessary for their development of consciousness.

Historical Knowledge and a Live Relation to History

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are essentially rooted in historical knowledge, in a scientific concept of history, with the history of the German and international workers movement and of the GDR in its center. By every footstep youth runs into history, not only in instruction and propaganda but also in everyday life, in political discussions. What was the old generations' own experience, personal achievement, emotionally weighted memory does not per se mean the same thing to the young people. That makes it highly important that the Ninth Party Congress orientation is to convey historical knowledge to the youth in such a way that a live contact is made with history.¹⁰

History instruction and history propaganda must attempt to convey knowledge about historical processes and the inevitabilities working within them in making the historic interconnections fully conscious and in working out the big lines of historic development. At times it is being ignored here that historical facts, vivid aspirations, the hopes and suffering of men, and their acts, also are part of the image of history. Only when they know such facts can inevitabilities, interconnections, or lines of development in history become comprehensible to the young people. Live historical facts are indispensable also, however, so that children and youths can learn to evaluate historical events, assume their own position and learn from history to understand the present better and to gain mastery over the future. Progressive personalities of the history of our people, communists, Soviet Army heroes, antifascist resistance fighters, activists of the first hour, FDJ members of the first youth construction sites, members of the 13 August 1961 militia --

they all are among those for whom the young people not only feel respect and gratitude but in whom they also can find the convictions, attitudes and characteristics which are of importance to their own actions. Human experiences and the positions taken in the past, especially from the years when our socialist fatherland was in the process of becoming, must be matters that our young people today also have to be made to be sensitive to; historical models shall help them in comprehending the unity of motivation and deed. And that also is the reason why, wherever it is possible, eye-witnesses, co-shapers of history should be called upon to speak to them when it is a matter of conveying vital lessons of history.

To make history come alive for youth is a requirement applying to all of history propaganda in school and outside: the study groups of young historians, the activities of the youth organization, and of the antifascist resistance fighters, the work in museums and on memorials, historical research and propaganda on the history of the revolutionary transformation of our republic, on local history, on the history of the enterprises, the activities of the history commissions in the kreis executives and so forth. One working team in the Ost metallurgical combine, for example, has assumed the task of presenting the history and the present situation of the plant in a brochure, for polytechnical and vocational training and for the communist education of the young generation. To today's metallurgical youth it has by now become a history that happened long ago how, through the help of the Soviet Union, the new plant and the town originated and how, from Soviet ore and Polish coke, the crude iron was produced which was of such vital need to our young republic. While first an output of only 500,000 tons had been scheduled, the plant in 1976 produced 1,875,000 tons of crude iron. Soviet specialists produced a generation of "Red Blast-furnace Operators" who are coming up with such achievements. A modern sintering plant, the quarto-tandem of a cold-rolling mill and other metallurgical installations today are situated right along the six blast-furnaces -- impressive results of socialist economic integration. When history is presented like that it explains how, and under what conditions and thanks to which efforts and socialist aid, has come about what we enjoy today. This awakens pride in our achievement and a strong emotional tie to our socialist homeland and respect for those who created the achievements of socialism -- among us and in the other fraternal countries.

Vivid history also makes conscious, in an emotionally impressive manner, the historical traditions of friendship between the Soviet Union and the GDR, between our country and the other fraternal countries. They remind youth of the historic roots of friendship between the socialist peoples, help reduce remnants of prejudice overcome from history, and foster the rapprochement among the socialist nations. An important educational task lies here in this 60th year after the Great Socialist October Revolution. Conveying historical facts about traditional friendship among the socialist peoples is all the more necessary in as much as the adversary is intensifying his anti-Soviet agitation and, by means of falsifying the course of history, is seeking to undermine the firm foundations of friendship between the USSR and the GDR and among the fraternal peoples all around.

During the 1976 Frankfurt discussions sponsored within the framework of a joint project of the GDR Pedagogical Sciences Academy and pedagogs, the Polish pedagog Anna Ratus from Zielona Gora Voivodship made this point: "Our education is such that youth can see that the ideology of our system originated on German soil in the 19th century and that fascism, with all the suffering it brought, was not only an enemy of the Polish people but of the German people as well. Becoming acquainted with each other's history, with developments in the cultural field and with what we are working for today creates many fruitful educational situations which we can apply to the education of the young generation." Students from neighboring towns and schools along the GDR-Polish border are jointly visiting sites of the revolutionary and antifascist struggle of the past, for instance those places along the Oder where the First Polish Army formed, alongside the Soviet Army, for its assault on Berlin, or the Army Museum in Potsdam, Seelow Heights. Many study groups, such as the young historians' study group in Seelow, are doing research on the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army, which paved the way to freedom for the peoples of Europe. Similar forms of joint work are developing along the GDR-CSSR border. Pioneers of the Geising and Sobedruhy secondary schools, for instance, are studying the work of the resistance fighter Hertha Lindner of Krupka, executed by the Nazis, and of the Altenberg antifascists Walter Richter, Max Niklas and Artur Tiermann, who also were murdered by the fascists. They are jointly preparing a friendship festival on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution to be held on the border near Zinnwald in 1977.

Explaining the Tasks of the Future

The young people are experiencing the socialist present. They are its active coshapers. We help them comprehend the present in its historic dimension. Only thereby can we make fully comprehensible the historic perspectives of the socialist fatherland, the community of the socialist states and of the international class struggle. Youth can better understand what has been achieved, can evaluate it and comprehend its future tasks as builders of communism out of its historic sources. Young people -- that is only natural -- are very open-minded to what will happen tomorrow in the territory, the enterprise, the republic, the socialist community, and the world. Questions about the future are of the greatest interest to the young people; they concern them directly. For they are the ones to shape the future. In this sense the new party program as ratified at the Ninth Party Congress is a youth program. And this is the reason why this is not any sort of future propaganda. For its patriotic and internationalist education it is important that youth realizes: the decision about the future is made even today. Youth must be given an understanding of the interconnections between history, the present and the future.

Rich opportunities for it exist through the instruction in the various subject fields and in all extracurricular work. The teacher Christine Doehne, during the Frankfurt discussions referred to above, reported on how she, in teaching 10th grade chemistry, and in dealing with the subject of "nitrogen as an

element of the fifth main group," in line with the norms for her teaching, also discussed the past, present and future prospects of ammonia synthesis. A few historical facts explained to the pupils how ammonia and its derivatives were unscrupulously used in the enterprises of IG Farben for war preparations and genocide (for instance in the use of gas during World War I and the mass murder industry in the fascist concentration camps). But then she brought out in particular how indispensable nitrogen fertilizer is to increasing the yield of socialist agriculture. In this connection she referred to the ammonia and urea installations at Schwedt and Piesteritz developed in recent years and working with Soviet petroleum supplies. Eventually she came to the investment project at Piesteritz, one of the largest in the chemical industry of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan, being built with the help from Soviet, Polish, Hungarian and Czech experts. Soviet natural gas will be the raw material base which is flowing into our republic and other socialist countries via the "Nordlicht" (Northern Light) pipeline. No references to these long-range prospects could yet be contained in the teaching plan of a few years ago. Experienced teachers will make use of facts pertaining to long-term planning in our country and to integration for continually rendering the teaching norms more up-to-date and for conveying concrete knowledge that helps develop and deepen the love for our homeland, optimism, confidence and the awareness of long-range prospects.

Our students find the prospects of long-range socialist economic integration and of scientific-technical cooperation very understandable. They do conform with their own experiences. In the enterprises they find out how closely our own national economy is tied up with the economy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and how much the plan fulfillment according to proper schedules and qualities depends on mutual obligations. Such experiences can be picked up to make it perfectly clear to them that with the CEMA complex program, for instance, or with the target programs on creating a modern energy and raw material base tasks have been undertaken that are pointing far into the future. The ways and means in which the socialist countries are tackling problems of humanity such as the energy and raw material problem makes them fully acquainted with, and able to appreciate, the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Work -- The Most Important Means for Patriotic and Internationalist Education

Their own deeds on behalf of their socialist fatherland, the socialist community of states and solidary action are indispensable for developing and deepening patriotic and internationalist convictions. It is in the enterprises where the wealth of our fatherland is created and the decisive contribution to strengthening the socialist community is made. Work becomes an important means of patriotic and internationalist education.

The students themselves are creators of values in their polytechnical training. For example, the 2,000 students in the polytechnical center of the Ost metallurgical combine during school year 1975/76 produced goods at a value of M 193,950. That corresponds to 32,325 working hours for technicians.

Persistent efforts are required, as they find out while at work, for strengthening the socialist fatherland and the community of the socialist countries. Such experiences are applied all the more effectively to education if the students are drawn into the working people's struggle for perfect plan fulfillment, into socialist competition and the innovator and rationalizer movement. In the Buna combine, for example, students, supervised by experienced workers, are running an installation for the production of polyvinyl chloride powder. Along with other working people they are taking part in the shift guarantee movement developed by workers at the Leuna plants, which entails brigade responsibility for the installation for 2 hours in excess of a shift. Carburetors, among other things, have to be taken out and thoroughly cleaned in time so that there will be no interference with production when shifts change. In the state-owned Buna chemical plants the students too are writing their notes on the plan, and they are putting down, with a great sense of responsibility, where it is they still find reserves that might be tapped for increasing the output. In the polytechnical center of the state-owned Carl Zeiss Jena, the students are even drawn into the quality check. In work that is organized like this, students learn to assume the responsibility for their assignments, and they can then also see how much depends on work being done according to proper quality in any given enterprise for strengthening our homeland and the socialist community.

Productive labor gives the students a feeling for what socialist economic integration is. Deliveries from the Soviet Union and from other socialist countries for the fulfillment of export obligations, in accordance with proper schedules and qualities, are of importance in every enterprise. In the Finkenheerd crane construction, students are involved in the production of overhead beams for the major rotary cranes intended for export to the Soviet Union. Under operational conditions the students come to comprehend that integration calls for loyalty to the contractual terms, reliability and quality work, and they also run into problems that occur in this process. There are important points of departure here for enabling the young people to think beyond the confines of a given enterprise and of their own country and to develop a sense of responsibility for the entire socialist community. Sponsored by the youth organizations, more international recreation and labor camps, or specialists' camps, are now being held in which students of the GDR, Poland, the CSSR and Soviet pioneers and youths take part. And the young people are becoming better acquainted here with one another through their joint labor, in sports and in games and merrymaking. Language barriers are overcome, and numerous personal friendships develop. And so they are preparing themselves for common work, study and research in the future.

The experiences gathered by the students in industrial production and youth projects ought to be picked up and made use of more purposefully for the benefit of effective patriotic and internationalist education in school. Many schools and enterprises are trying to find ways how the teachers, the teachers in charge of grades and the specialists among them, could be better informed about the achievements, experiences and insights the students gain in the enterprises. Experiences will be all the more effective in education,

the more they are being absorbed and lifted onto the level of conscious insights and recognitions. Teachers at the Pablo Neruda secondary school in Britz, for example, are making use in their instruction of experiences gained by students on rationalization projects during polytechnical training in the state-owned Hans Ammon iron foundry.

A patriotic and internationalist sense of responsibility will develop mainly where young people are assigned clear tasks and the significance these tasks have for strengthening our homeland and for the socialist community of states is explained to them, which will provide them with the feeling that their activities, their performance, their initiative are really in demand. There have been good experiences in charging the youth with responsible tasks and making a public accounting of them through the movement that is called "Beautify Our Towns and Communities -- Join In!" And where the young people themselves get engaged in helping to improve the working and living conditions there also develops the sentiment of solidarity and safety, without which socialist patriotism and internationalism would be inconceivable. The "Red October Festival" will furnish many incentives for how the young people can express, through socially useful work, cultural-scientific activities, political action, sports and games their liaison with the socialist fatherland, their friendship with the Soviet Union and their internationalist stance.

FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977.
2. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 69.
3. M. A. Suslov, "Begrueungsansprachen der Vertreter der Bruderparteien auf dem IX. Parteitag der SED" (Ninth SED Congress Speeches by the Representatives of the Fraternal Parties), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 7-8.
4. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 57.
5. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 5. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 14.
6. Announcement, 7 May 1976, V 7415/18, KULTUR UND UNTERRICHT, AMISBLATT DES KULTUSMINISTERIUMS BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG, Villingen-Schwemmingen, 1 June 1976, p 977.
7. Fritz Gause, "German 'Ostkunde' in Conflict," DEUTSCHE OSTKUNDE, No 1, 1974, pp 15 ff.

8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 134.
9. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1966, pp 278 ff.
10. Cf. Margot Honecker, "Protokoll des IX. Parteitages der SED" (Ninth SED Congress Proceedings), Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 292.

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EAST GERMANY

IMPORTANCE OF SOCIALIST MILITARY TRAINING FOR YOUTH DISCUSSED

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[Article by Guenter Boehme, secretary, FDJ Central Council, and Lt Col Wolfgang Spitzner, graduate in military science, department chief in FDJ Central Council: "Defense of Socialism--Privilege and Honorable Duty"]

[Text] The FDJ has gained great distinction in the political-ideological education of youth for the protection of socialism. It regards it as one of its most important task to enable the youth consciously to assume its privilege, its honorable duty for the protection of socialism as guaranteed in the Constitution and in the youth law of the GDR. If it is at present preparing itself, through the mass movement "FDJ Assignment Ninth Party Congress," which was decreed by the 10th Parliament, for the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, it also includes the activities intended for strengthening its defense preparedness.

To recruit and mobilize every young person, secure the peace by exemplary achievements and reliably protecting socialism are among the best traditions of the FDJ. The FDJ here follows Lenin's advice: "Being frivolous about the defense of a country in which the proletariat has already won would destroy the ties with international socialism. Since we have become the agents of the ruling class which has begun to organize socialism, we can ask of everyone a serious attitude toward the defense of the country."¹

Following the words of the working class party, the FDJ has espoused and is espousing the defense of the revolutionary achievements. That is indicated, not last, by the FDJ sponsorship of the GDR armed forces which was assumed at the Fourth Parliament, 25 years ago. Through the fulfillment of the responsible obligations arising from it, many FDJ generations have earned permanent distinctions in the construction and development of the NVA and the other armed forces. And as currently GDR youth, through the mass movement "FDJ Assignment Ninth Party Congress," decreed by the 10th Parliament,

is getting set for the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution in coming up with great achievements in implementing the Ninth Party Congress decisions and in strengthening the GDR and the socialist community of states, that also includes the activities for strengthening its defense preparedness and the friendship and comradeship in arms with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the socialist defense alliance. More and more do the young people understand the willingness to protect what has been created as an inseparable component of communist modes of thinking and action.

Socialist Defense Education -- Inseparable Component of Communist Education

The reliable protection of peace and of socialism is an expression of the power of the workers class and serves the fulfillment of its historic mission. The purpose of socialism, to do everything for the good of man, can be achieved only in peacetime. Peace is not a present, however, but must be fought for bitterly and be defended against the imperialist foe. As long as imperialism exists and, implicitly, does not abandon its attempts of thwarting the successful advance of socialism and of abolishing its achievements, a strong and secure defense capacity remains an objective requirement of the class struggle and an inseparable component of socialist peace policy.

The strength of the community of socialist states rallying around the Soviet Union, including its military might, could secure successes in the enforcement of the peaceful coexistence policy, in securing world peace. We do not ignore here, however, the efforts made by the aggressive forces of NATO, and especially by the militarists and revanchists in the United States and the FRG at meeting the peace offensive of the fraternal socialist countries with bitter resistance. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, said at the Ninth Party Congress: "Our clear-sightedness toward new possibilities for advancing farther on the way of peaceful coexistence never allows us to ignore the fact that imperialism has not lost the aggressive and expansionist nature that is characteristic of it."² The greatest vigilance is required vis-a-vis the adventurousness of the aggressive forces of imperialism in straits. So is the firm determination to hinder the mortal enemies of socialism in their course if need be. The reliable defense capacity of socialism is a decisive guarantee for securing permanent peace and for creating favorable conditions for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

Defense preparedness and defense capability therefore are essential features of communist thought and action, especially among youth. It follows from this that socialist defense education for all girls and boys is a permanent task of the entire socialist society. Its main concern lies in forming class-bound motives for the protection of socialism among all youths and in developing its capabilities in meeting the growing demands in national defense.

New and higher tasks arise from meeting the military class task the Ninth SED Congress has assigned to the armed forces. This also raises the demands for the all round preparation of the future soldiers, their political-moral steadfastness, their knowledge and abilities and their physical and psychological capabilities. These requirements determine the substance and the

specific nature of socialist defense education of youth. The harshness of the class conflict with imperialism and the need for also being able to match the enemy militarily demand of the soldier to show courage, bravery, steadfastness, discipline and the will for victory. These are indispensable prerequisites for being able to prevail in combat training, on guard duty, all throughout the military system, in securing the national frontiers or on patrol at sea. It is becoming ever more evident: the better prepared the future soldier is when he starts his military service, the more easily and rapidly will he be able to master his military tasks. That amounts to saying that important bases for meeting the military class task will be laid outside the army, that is to say, before the young people reach their conscription age.

The party organization, parents, schools, pioneer and FDJ organizations, the Society for Sport and Technology and other social forces more and more successfully contribute to enabling the young people to consciously assume the privilege vested in the Constitution and in the GDR youth law, the honorable duty for the protection of socialism. That is being demonstrated by the achievements of our FDJ members in the NVA and the GDR border troops, alongside the glorious Soviet Army, on behalf of the reliable military protection of peace and of socialism. The FDJ organizations within the armed forces prove to be an important political force, especially through the development of the young army members' initiative in socialist competition, under the slogan "Battle Course 77--Always Vigilant, With Combat Strength and Combat Readiness" and in deepening the comradeship in arms. And also in the other protective and security organs, in the militia and the civil defense, the young people are achieving much with great distinction for the protection of our homeland, working alongside the more senior and experienced fighters.

In all areas of life boys and girls are showing in many ways they are willing to prepare themselves for their defense tasks early. Pioneers and FDJ members are taking part with great enthusiasm in the "friendship" maneuvers and the FDJ's "Hans Beimler Contests." It testifies to greater political maturity that more and more young people at the age of 14 or 15 decide they want to become professional soldiers and conscientiously prepare themselves for their future life's tasks in the "FDJ applicants collectives for military occupations." More than 90 percent of all young people reaching recruitment age and starting their military service has graduated from the premilitary training offered by the Society for Sport and Technology.

The unity between learning and combat, between word and deed, is particularly important in socialist defense education. In this harmony one finds the degree of maturity in the willingness to contribute to the fulfillment of defense tasks. To extend to one's decision itself this unity between an allegiance to and acting on behalf of socialism, to involve oneself totally in the reliable protection of socialism, is the point at which diverse degrees of socialist consciousness achieved become visible. To produce this agreement between words and deeds is more complicated usually in the field of national defense than in other social areas, for indeed, in the exercise of the right and duty youth has to the defense of socialism we are confronted with acts for the good of society that reach deep into a person and above all depend on political insight.

The outstanding achievements of our boys and girls in production, in learning and studying, and in protecting our socialist accomplishments convincingly show that the policy of the party, aiming at the good of the people, has deepened and strengthened among GDR youth the basic motives for its defense of, and partiality in favor of, socialism. It is coming to an increasingly better understanding also of the inseparable connection between the successful continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the struggle for insuring world peace. The success reached thus far in enforcing the peace program of the CPSU has deepened the confidence in the strength of the socialist community of states. All that has significantly broadened the foundations for the development of the political motives that are crucial to the defense of socialism; shaping them is and remains the most important concern of the socialist defense education by the FDJ.

The conviction that our socialist state is worthy of defense is of first-rate importance. Each young person senses more and more every day how the fulfillment of the main task, in its unity of economic and social policy, enriches his personal life. Our state guarantees his social security, freedom and safety. Our society makes possible for all girls and boys a clear prospect, a fine education, and the development of their abilities and skills. With the pride in our republic and in the emergence and growth of socialism, the will is growing stronger among the young people to protect our accomplishments from any enemy. This process should also be fostered in the future by our paying more attention than we have paid to teaching GDR history. "Vivid knowledge of the heroic accomplishments of the working people of the GDR in now almost 30 years," Comrade Erich Honecker said at the 5th SED Central Committee session, "is indispensable for revolutionary action today."³

On behalf of socialist defense motivation it is important to realize that the friendship with the Soviet Union and its Army is the basis for the triumphant nature of the cause of socialism and calls on youth truly to think and act in a patriotic and internationalist manner. Youth is coming to realize more and more that the defense of socialism cannot be restricted to our own country but includes all countries of the socialist community, being an obligation to the international workers class. Trust and confidence in the strength of socialism grow out of the conviction that alongside the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies we are invincible. The parents, schools, vocational training, the youth organization and all educators bear a high responsibility in turning into an inviolable treasure of ideas among the youth the thoughts of our socialist comradeship in arms while the young people still are at a pre-recruitment age.

Indispensable to class education for youth and to strengthening socialist defense motivation is our implacable unmasking of the imperialist enemy, our proving that imperialism, unalterably expansive and anti-human, is menacing our peace. This more and more enables our young generation today to look behind the true intentions and designs of the aggressive forces of imperialism. We do take into consideration in our defense policy work that the youth in our country does not know from its own experience the conflicts with the imperialist enemy from the time of the "cold war." We are dealing

with girls and boys whose conscious political life comes at a time when the imperialist adversary is forced, mainly because of the might and strength of socialism, to recognize the principles of peaceful coexistence and to follow along in taking certain steps toward detente. The protestations imperialism is raising on behalf of peace are pure demagoguery. With it, the lie is being spread about a threat coming from the socialist states. And so, imperialism is masking its aggressive strategic objectives in numerous ways. Nor will the enemy abandon his attempts in the future at undermining the youth's loyalty to the SED, its confidence in our socialist state -- and thus its defense preparedness, mainly by means of ideological diversion. Not all young people can as yet look behind the intentions of the imperialist adversary. The growing intensity of the ideological conflict between socialism and imperialism therefore increases the importance of conveying a realistic, class-bound enemy image.

As helper and fighting reserve of the party, the FDJ bears a great responsibility for developing a firm socialist defense motivation. That requires that the leadership of the youth organization will systematically structure and organize socialist defense education as an important component of its political-ideological work. The measure for it lies in how all young people will draw their personal conclusions from it for the protection of socialism. Not that this were the exclusive task of the youth association, for the FDGB also and the Society for Sport and Technology, schools, vocational training and enterprises and all educators are working for it under SED leadership. Not last, the young men's attitudes toward military service and a military career are also affected by their parents and other family members, or their wives or girlfriends. They too can have a lot to do with inducing young people to fulfilling their honorable duty in the defense of the socialist fatherland with a great sense of awareness.

An important experience of the FDJ has been that socialist defense education cannot be confined to specific areas or methods of political work. Attitudes of thought and action for the protection of socialism are more and more being shaped in membership meetings, in the FDJ study year or in talks about gaining the "Good Knowledge" medal. Military-political round-table discussions and subject-oriented forums are particularly useful for satisfying the growing interest youth has in military-political matters and in information about its future army service. And then there are still other climactic events that lend impulses to a smoothly flowing defense education in the FDJ basic organizations, such as the annual "Comradeship in Arms Week" or, at larger intervals, defense political mass activities.

Committed by Revolutionary Traditions

The appropriation and live preservation of the defense and military traditions of the German and international workers class help develop socialist-patriotic and internationalist thought and action among youth, shape revolutionary vigilance, and better understand and meet the defense tasks required. The initiatives for it are becoming more diverse in the FDJ basic organizations. With the help from comrades of the Committee of the Antifascist Resistance Fighters

the defense traditions of the workers movement, the glorious deeds of the Soviet Army in smashing fascism, the heroic struggle by unperturbed anti-fascists and the more recent defense traditions are being explored. Basic organizations are reviving the names of revolutionary models, like Hans Beimler, Ernst Schneller, Fritz Weineck, Richard Sorge and others. This effort on behalf of the tradition is enriched by excursions to memorial sites. The young people are also attending the traditional cabinets of the NVA, rooms displaying the combat glory of the Soviet Army and the GDR Army Museum. Basic FDJ and pioneer friendship organizations are keeping up the memorial markers and graves of fighters against fascism and of Soviet soldiers killed in the war, in many towns and communities. Especially the preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution opens a broad field to fostering our tradition which can acquaint the girls and boys with the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army in the defense of socialism. That will give them a better picture of how the socialist fatherland and socialism are successfully defended.

The FDJ has gained great distinctions in the political-ideological education of youth for the protection of socialism. Led by the working class party, it has proven itself in fulfilling the legacy of generations of revolutionary fighters against militarism, imperialism, fascism and war, and for peace, democracy and socialism. And it has also established its own traditions. Even late in the '40's it was, and early in the '50's when the working class party, in view of the aggressive and revanchist forces getting organized in the FRG, called upon youth for the armed protection of our fatherland. Tens of thousands of young workers picked up their rifles and reinforced the ranks of the armed organs. Relying on the most aware segment of youth, the FDJ made efforts in helping all boys and girls to assume class positions on the protection of our revolutionary achievements and on the role of the Soviet Army as liberator of the German people from fascism. Then discussions clarified the need for an armed protection of the young republic, which helped deeply root in the consciousness of youth Lenin's thesis, valid to this day, that "a revolution is worth something only if it knows how to defend itself."⁴

In the spring of 1952, when the FRG signed war treaties with the three Western powers, which required greater efforts for the defense of our socialist homeland, the FDJ again proved itself as helper and fighting reserve of the SED. The Fourth FDJ Parliament in Leipzig in 1952 demonstrated, for friend and foe alike, that the youth association stood firmly behind SED policy and was ready to protect the GDR. When the FDJ assumed its sponsorship of the armed organs, extensive political-ideological work was begun that was to make clear to the youth the character and task of the armed forces of the workers and farmers power of the GDR, recruit the most aware young people into the honorable military service, deepen the friendship with the Soviet Union and its army, and consolidate the class-bound relations between the youth and the armed organs. This sponsorship of the armed forces, which applies among us a valuable experience of the Leninist comsomol, has to this very day been an important FDJ movement for strengthening our socialist national defense.

The Wilhelm Pieck appeal to the FDJ sparked many new activities in 1952. At that time much clarification work was undertaken among youth about the causes of imperialist wars and about the dialectics between the peace struggle and the strengthening of the defense capabilities of the GDR. As at that time there were quite a few young people who, under the impact of the terrible events of war, were opposed to any kind of war and to employing any kind of weapons, the FDJ collectives then also engaged in a fundamental ideological effort to show the dangers of pacificism as a "form for misleading the workers class."⁵

In the outcome of this effective mass effort, large segments of youth accepted the military policy of the working class party and declared their willingness to acquire basic military skills in the Society for Sport and Technology, which had been formed on the initiative of the Fourth FDJ Parliament. Thousands of FDJ members -- 5,000 functionaries leading them on -- started serving with the garrisoned people's police.

On 18 January 1956 the GDR People's Chamber ratified the law on establishing the NVA, which was inseparably linked with the work the FDJ had done. At its 12th session in February 1956 the FDJ Central Council called on the GDR youth for its active support of the NVA. Many experienced FDJ members joined the ranks of the armed forces.

In August 1961 the FDJ faced a great test, when it was a matter of protecting the socialist achievements from a violent imperialist assault. With the call to arms, "The Fatherland Calls--Protect the Socialist Republic," and with the "Military Obligation Contract for All FDJ Members" the youth was called upon further to strengthen and reliably to protect the GDR alongside the party. Couched in concrete terms and asking "For whom are you? Against whom are you? Decide!" the ideological clarification process about the need for armed protection and about the question as to who was a friend and who, an enemy, went through the entire youth association. The GDR youth voted convincingly in favor of protecting the socialist fatherland. More than 285,000 boys declared their willingness to defend socialism. An important element of political-ideological work is to keep alive and to carry on the various FDJ traditions found also in this field, of which only a few could be briefly touched on in this article.

To Acquire Skills and Facilities Consciously

The Ninth SED Congress and the 10th FDJ Parliament have posed the task of still better coordinating the diverse forms and methods in defense education and of further improving their quality. The effectiveness and efficiency of all measures in socialist defense education will improve to the extent that they offer rich experiences and meaningful tests to all young people. And that precisely is the reason why situations must be created that will be a challenge for performance, stimulate contest and competition and act as spur to personal ambition. A vast spectrum of opportunities exists for us in acquiring facilities and skills and, besides, in a broad field for meeting practical tests, through diversified forms, graded according to age groups,

of socialist defense education, from the "friendship" pioneer maneuvers, via the Hans Beimler Contests of the FDJ, all the way to premilitary training and the defense sports of the Society for Sport and Technology. Not a few of these forms have been derived from the experiences of the Leninist comsomol and of DOSAAF (Volunteer Society for the Promotion of the Ground, Air and Naval Forces; the Soviet sister society of the Society for Sport and Technology). They are standing their test and are an irreplaceable contribution to the formation and consolidation of socialist defense consciousness.

The point is to invest socialist defense education with substance and rich experience. Stereotypes, routine, or demands that fail to differentiate according to age-groups not only bore the young people but they also prevent any systematic development of socialist defense consciousness.

Preparing for concerns of national defense is by no means merely a matter for young males. The girls should also be involved more concretely and consistently in socialist defense education. It is important for the development of their own defense preparedness as well as for the positive influence they can exercise on the defense morality of the boys.

The tasks for the secure protection of socialism call for physically capable and hardened people. It obligates all areas of society to pay more attention to this matter. For the youth association it is important, in working together with the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation of the GDR, the Society for Sport and Technology and the FDGB, to promote sports among the boys and girls, especially regular athletic activities, and here again, in particular, defense sports. The emphasis for improving physical capabilities in terms of national defense must be placed on vocational training and the time thereafter up to the beginning of honorable military service. Sports are healthy for young people, develop independence and endurance and promote team work. Sports furthermore develop other characteristics of importance to national defense: discipline, strength and perseverance.

The work with the program on acquiring the GDR sports medal is of great value here. The medal, "Ready for Work and for the Defense of the Homeland," is a symbol of health and of athletic capability; it testifies to the willingness to work with all one's strength toward the defense of socialism.

The Military Profession -- An Honorable Task

Throughout the whole history of our republic and the development of its military protection our party has proceeded from the consideration that the socialist revolution needs its own military cadres -- professional officers and NCO's engaged in their profession on assignment from the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. New recruiting is important to all of society. At the 10th FDJ Parliament, Comrade Egon Krenz, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, said: "The FDJ finds one of its most honorable obligations in recruiting capable members of our association into the military profession and preparing them for it."⁶

It is taken for granted in our socialist society today that military professions are safely established in the ideas of the young people getting ready to serve. There are always more boys indicating they want to become career officers or NCO's. There are more than 680 "FDJ applicant collectives for military careers" in which FDJ members are getting set for their lives' tasks. For fulfilling its mission in the protection of peace, our national defense now and for the future needs class-conscious young people who see in the military profession an interesting task of high social rank.

Up to the end of the ninth high school grade one must find suitable applicants and take charge of them and thoroughly train them for several years. One must consider that these are young people whose character is not yet fully formed and whose ideas are often insufficiently developed especially with regard to this social task. The motives by which a decision is reached to become a career soldier therefore have to be developed through smoothly flowing and discriminating political-ideological work.

The choice of a military profession calls for thorough thought as much as for a clear decision. No young person should be left on his own with respect to such a task. Party-minded counseling, support and care and respect in the study and work collective are as necessary as long-range custody and preparation for the applicants. In practice, the "FDJ applicant collectives for military careers," which are run jointly by the FDJ, the Society for Sport and Technology and the defense organs, have been found useful. The criterion for their work lies in how the applicants who made their decision at the age of 14 or 15 have reinforced that decision to become professional military when they are 18 or 19, and it lies in their applying themselves completely to their studies and their military life.

Most of these collectives exercise the kind of care which increasingly conforms to the applicants' interests and helps develop stable socialist convictions, career and defense motivation and revolutionary attitudes. The centerpiece, as in all FDJ work, is political-ideological education, brought into effect through many forms and methods. This highly diversified youth activity makes the future officers and NCO's realize more and more that the military profession is meaningful and beautiful. Excursions are among the activities offered by most of the collectives which will take the applicants to training institutions and to units of the armed forces, but also scouting games, hikes, firing practice and social events including the parents and girlfriends of the applicants are part of the program. All this establishes important prerequisites for their future military profession.

The career officer and NCO applicant develops and tests his political, pedagogic and premilitary facilities in functions as trainer and coach in the Society for Sport and Technology or on the Hans Beimler staffs of the FDJ. A point must be made of the socially most meritorious work of the chiefs in the FDJ applicant collectives. Their party-mindedness and class-bound and objective work have a high share in preparing a new generation of professional soldiers. An important prerequisite for the successful work of the applicant collectives is their being led by the FDJ kreis executive in conjunction with the NVA defense command and the kreis executive board of the Society for Sport and Technology.

In preparing, together with all of progressive humanity, the 60th anniversary of the triumph of the October Revolution, activities engaged in, especially by youth, for the reliable protection of the socialist achievements certainly must be part of it. This conforms to an important lesson that has been confirmed time and again since the October Revolution, the main event of our century. As the SED's fighting reserve, the FDJ finds it highly important to support all young people in exercising actively their privilege and honorable duty to defend socialism. Making use of its rich experiences, the socialist youth association will live up to its tradition in fulfilling at a high quality the tasks posed for the protection of socialism by the Ninth SED Congress and the 10th FDJ Parliament. The comrades in the working class party will, as we know, remain firmly on the side of the FDJ.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "About 'Leftist' Childishness and the Petty Bourgeoisie," "Werke" (Works), Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 324.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, Berlin, 1976, p 17.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Fifth Session of the SED Central Committee), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 27.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Report in the Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviets, the Enterprise Committee and the Trade Unions," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 115.
5. V. I. Lenin, "The Conference of the Foreign Sections of the SDWPR," "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 152.
6. Egon Krenz, "FDJ Central Council Report to the 10th Parliament," "X. Parlament der Freien Deutschen Jugend" (10th FDJ Parliament), Junge Welt publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 73.

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EAST GERMANY

SED'S ECONOMICS SECRETARY REVIEWS SOCIOECONOMIC TASKS, ACHIEVEMENTS

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[Article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member, Central Committee secretary for economics: "The Great Force of Socialism's Advantages"]

[Text] Proceeding from the continued and undeviating implementation of the main task, it is being shown how, via the Ninth Party Congress route, the advantages of socialism are undergoing an ever stronger development. Also for our republic the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution has been the breakthrough for this development for the good of men. The advantages of socialism find their primary expression in the unity of economic and social policy. The basis for the further growth of economic performance lies in higher quality and great labor efficiency in all fields. This amounts to an all-inclusive social concern.

The Ninth Party Congress decisions give us the task to continue the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, whereby to create the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. That implies that the advantages which inevitably inhere in socialism will come to the fore still more strongly and clearly. It mainly means the purpose of socialism, to do everything for the good of the people, will become ever more noticeable in the life of the people.

That is what our party works and fights for. It amounts to the continued and undeviating implementation of the main task in accordance with the decisions of the Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses on behalf of strengthening socialism, its exemplary effect and increased authority in international affairs. It requires that we do all we can to put fully into effect in real life the great advantages inherent in this social order. Proceeding from there, our party extensively directs and organizes the struggle for the implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions, as this means, concretely, putting the advantages of socialism into effect in the life of the people in accordance with the conditions of the current phase of development.

The tasks we are now facing were presented in detail at the fifth session of our party's Central Committee in the Politburo report submitted by Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker. Starting with the general party line as worked out by the Ninth Party Congress, with the achievements reached thus far and an accurate knowledge of realistic developmental conditions, our next tasks were set down. In accordance with the great political responsibility it has, our party proceeds in all decisions from scientifically sound Marxist-Leninist analysis of social development and derives clear tasks from it.

"So we may say today our party has a comprehensive concept for attaining the economic and social targets of the Ninth Party Congress. At a conference the Central Committee secretariat held with the first secretaries of the kreis executive boards all essential conclusions were drawn from it. The decisive sectors and most important steps for the further implementation of the main task have been determined accurately. That is of the greatest importance for the work of the whole party."¹ Proceeding in accordance with this unified concept for implementing the Ninth Party Congress decisions mainly means that we approach all political, economic and ideological problems that have to be solved consistently from a class-bound and party-minded position, from the assignments in enhancing the strength and might of the socialist order. That is what deeply conforms to the interests of the workers class and all the people in our nation as the purpose of socialism is the well-being of the people and it is therefore true that the stronger socialism is, the better it is for the people.

For six decades now socialism has been entering the life of the peoples as a real and incessantly developing power. A fundamental change in the development of all mankind has come about with the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution. For the first time in history, through the victorious struggle of the Russian proletariat led by its vanguard, the bolshevist party, the exploitation of man by man was abolished. And that victory was a breakthrough, not only for the Russian proletariat but for the struggle of the international workers movement and all the exploited and suppressed. It was in accordance with the historic inevitabilities which make socialism and communism emerge as the future of mankind.

"The Soviet Union in the 60th year after the Great October -- that is the country where the developed socialist society is established and the country which, by creating the material-technical base of communism, once again breaks the path into the future. The party and the state are doing everything for the good of the people and for the sake of the people, for the happiness of the people. Nothing could reveal this social progress more clearly than the development of the Soviet people, the development of their personality. Their thoughts and actions are making ever more visible the features of the builders of communist society."²

These 60 years of the Great Socialist October Revolution have been 60 years of historic offensive by socialism against the capitalist order condemned to die.

In this historic offensive our GDR also is moving ahead successfully. The reason for that mainly is that our party has drawn, and is creatively applying, the universal conclusions from the lessons of the Red October in socialist construction and in the international class struggle so that in our country too the advantages, values, accomplishments and achievements of socialism are coming into their own more and more.

The advantages socialism offers to people are expressed, in a concentrated form, in the main task, which demonstrates the interconnection of all the social features in socialism, and which consists of further elevating the material and cultural standard of living of the people based on high developmental speed in socialist production, greater efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growth in labor productivity. This pertains to the decisive material foundations for shaping the socialist way of life, which must be further developed systematically. Already today life of people in our society is marked by extensive social security and safety, confidence in the prospects of social development for oneself and one's children, and an increasingly richer intellectual-cultural life. It all depends on their ever more active efforts on behalf of the all round strengthening of socialism in the GDR.

Unity of Economic and Social Policy

The unity of economic and social policy is a decisive feature in the advantages of socialism; it has become especially strong and pronounced precisely in the present developmental phase. Through our party's Marxist-Leninist policy -- as already demonstrated by the impressive results achieved in the implementation of the tasks posed by the Eighth Party Congress -- it has become increasingly effective within the life of the people.

This policy, as expressed in the main task, is in full conformity with those requirements which derive from the development of the advantages of socialism. The facts produced by its implementation also prove their own enormous effects on all of our social development. This policy meets with the fundamental vital interests of the people. It is a decisive factor of the stability of socialist society and, at once, of the development of its inherent possibilities in economy, science and culture.

With the Ninth Party Congress, this party policy, which focuses rigorously on the well-being of the people, continues smoothly. The level reached is not only newly reproduced year after year; it is systematically being raised even further. The improvement of the people's material and cultural standard of living has a dynamic effect on our social development.

For instance, in the first year of the new Five-Year Plan which the Ninth Party Congress ratified, 150,617 apartments were newly built or modernized. Never before in the entire history of the GDR have that many new or modernized apartments become available to the population in one year. There also were created in the field of public education, in accordance with the complex character of our housing construction program, 21,342 kindergarten vacancies,

22,856 nursery vacancies, 3,040 classrooms and 156 school gymnasiums, which overfulfilled the 1976 target in the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan. The same holds true for the 10,872 new day nursery vacancies. All these material results are of the greatest importance to the social well-being of the people and to their opportunities for fully developing their personality, for their health and joy in life.

As a yardstick for individual consumption, retail trade turnover in 1976 was 4.3 percent higher than the year before -- with retail prices remaining stable. To stabilize this development, the manufacture of finished products for popular consumption was increased by 6 percent above the previous year. Industrial commodity turnover grows faster than the turnover of general commodities. Fundamental developmental trends can be found here of which our party takes account in its resolutions.

This development itself already reflects how the Ninth Party Congress decisions on raising our own consumer commodity production are being implemented. It is a basic issue in producing the concrete material preconditions for satisfying the population's growing needs. And more and more it is no longer merely a matter of volumes but of quality of commodities at the same time, of both volumes and qualities together. In this combination alone can one take account of both the growing needs, which most strongly stimulate the demand for high-grade commodities, and the responsibilities of consumer commodity production in taking care of total social production.

In focusing further on the continued implementation of the main task -- as shown by the results as well as by the concrete targets -- our party lets itself be guided by an analysis of the requirements of objectively working economic laws, especially of the basic economic law of socialism. That this policy is correct was impressively confirmed by the successful 1971-1975 balance sheet the Ninth Party Congress has drawn up and, moreover, by the results of 1976, the first year of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan. If, for example, labor productivity in the area of the industrial ministries could be raised by 6 percent in 1976, and industrial production of commodities in this area by 6.6 percent, and in the other areas by 5.9 percent, these figures of upward development themselves underscore how in socialism, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist policy, great social energies are released through the people's creative labor. Nor is it by chance that in 1976, for example, approximately 1.6 million working people took part in the innovator movement, one million production workers among them who are in this fashion assuming through creative participation their responsibility to public property and to the socialist society. All this reflects those all-inclusive social processes through which the trade unions are organizing socialist competition as a comprehensive expression of the working people's creativity. When Comrade Fidel Castro visited the GDR, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his speech on that occasion that the working people in our country were developing through great initiatives, in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the thus far most comprehensive socialist competition in the history of the GDR.

Our party's unified economic and social policy is anchored in the life of our society; it more and more pervades the understanding, the thoughts and actions of the people in our nation. Its consistent implementation decisively informs and deepens the close relationship of trust between the party and the working class and, in fact, all the people.

To Improve the Quality and Efficiency of All Labor

Enormous social forces thus have been released, which are moving us further ahead toward shaping the developed socialist society, through the unity of economic and social policy, as all development has once again confirmed. By making a point of what is specific to socialist economy today, the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated that the centerpiece of economic policy was the struggle for the efficiency of social production and for a high grade of labor in all fields and domains of the economy.

Our socialist economy is most intimately interlocked with overall social development. In it, the material bases for the life of society as of each individual citizen are being reproduced day after day, smoothly, continually and at ever larger dimensions. The average annual growth of national revenue in our economy from 1966 to 1970, for instance, was 5.2 percent, from 1971 to 1975, it was 5.4 percent, and in the current Five-Year Plan it will amount to 5.1 percent. This demonstrates the steadiness in our economic development and socialist economy over the long haul and confirms this steadiness as being inherent to our social advances.

This steadiness in growth rates also is tied in with steadily enlarging dimensions. In 1950, one percent of national revenue produced represented a value of M 270 million, in 1960 it was M 710 million, in 1970, approximately M 1,090 million, in 1975, roughly M 1,420 million, and in 1980 it will be around M 1,820 million.

Behind these significant quantitative increases of economic dimensions also are considerable qualitative changes. From 1971 to 1976, for instance, more than 15,000 new products with improved features were put into production. More than half of the commodity assortments of the metal working industry was redesigned within that period. At the same time, approximately 40 percent of the basic assets was reallocated in the centrally directed industry. In taking as our base the value of all our equipment, we find that today 43 percent of the equipment used in the centrally-directed industry is partly or fully automated. In 1970, it had been 33 percent. These constant upgrading processes, based on scientific-technical progress, are part and foundation of our dynamic development.

Approximately 6.5 million people are working in our national economy. In industry and construction alone, there are 3.5 million workers. Their material condition and occupational development, and the development of their creative abilities, are directly related to the main field of human activity, which is labor. It is therefore of the greatest importance that, as the results are showing, our socialist economy develops smoothly and dynamically

and the basic human right to work is guaranteed to every citizen, not only de jure but de facto, that is, materially. As the socialist planned economy in its total production outcome is meant for men, it also focuses in its whole way of functioning, in its steady forward development and its certitude of the future on the basic human needs. Precisely in this decisive sphere of life, in labor, our real humanism becomes manifest, for not the profit but, solely and exclusively, man is the pivot and pole of socialism. Intent on a happy human life full of meaning, the economy serves the strengthening of socialism.

The real development demonstrates how in our socialist planned economy great efficiency reserves are increasingly being tapped for the benefit of the people. An extensive struggle is constantly under way for saving live and embodied labor. This development is as typical a factor of the socialist economy as is the steady and dynamic development of production itself.

Through the systematic implementation of the results of science and technology alone, almost 200 million working hours were saved in 1976 in our industrial, construction and transportation enterprises. That corresponds to the labor time of approximately 100,000 production workers. The saving in embodied labor can, among other things, be seen in that the index figures for the specific energy consumption in industry could be lowered by 4.9 percent. The specific rolling-steel consumption in the metal working industry could be reduced by 3.2 percent, in construction, by 2 percent. And every percentage saved is of increasing importance to overall economic cost accounting. In 1976, for instance, every percent of material saving amounted to as much as M 2.2 million. In 1970, it had been M 1.6 million. The saving of only one percent of cellulose meant raw material for 25,000 tons of valuable newsprint. One percent of lumber saved made possible the production of furniture material at a value of M 22 million. And all material saving becomes the basis for more production. This is highly efficient because, as a rule, the expenditures on savings are of ever less importance when compared with what the procurement of raw materials costs. Material economy is an effective way for making economic use of our national wealth.

At its fifth session, the Central Committee has set the task to improve significantly the quality and efficiency of all labor. It is important to tap all sources for increasing the national revenue so that the funds will be available for continuing our sociopolitical program as well as for the further development of our material-technical base. To do this, the ratio between expenditure and yield must be constantly further improved in all sectors of our economic cycle.

The key role in this process lies with our scientific-technical progress. And already we can rely on fine results. In the result of having realized the conversion and quality tasks of the science and technology state plan, a commodity output at a value of approximately M 7.7 billion was achieved at a higher scientific-technical level, with greater intrinsic value and greater economic efficiency. The positive results of our scientific-technical

work have had the effect that in 1976 in the centrally-directed industry a total of newly and further developed products at a value of M 6.3 billion could be produced. Yet we must not ignore here what an accurate analysis of our qualitative development tells us: only about 10 percent of our scientific-technical products is currently on a par with the international peak level of performance. Much larger tasks must therefore be given to science and technology, and we must struggle vigorously to realize those tasks. The same high criteria must be applied on all production levels -- from material to the end products -- for improving the qualities of commodities and reaching international peak levels in decisive fields.

And new and higher criteria have been set for this work. They became clear in the Politburo report to the fifth Central Committee session and in the speech by the general secretary of the Central Committee to the first secretaries of the kreis executives. The first point of business now is to turn these criteria into the very handles for our work everywhere. That is why the ideological position decides on how one proceeds from objective requirements. In formulating scientific-technical requirements one must not start from what we already have in production but from what our future production will be. That kind of approach will effectively help raise national revenue.

One decisive conclusion drawn from the fifth Central Committee session is to become more thorough in accurate comparisons with the international production status. The point may well be made that science and technology requirements are targets of a high political and economic order. In these important matters, any subjectivism must be barred from the outset. It is important to stress in this context that the determination of the science and technology targets and their rapid production implementation are matters of personal responsibility for the managers. To gain mastery over the new and higher science and technology requirements, with passion and communist conviction, is more urgent than ever.

This requires objective and honest assessments and analyses. Every scientific-technical task set down must now be thoroughly checked to see whether it conforms with the economic requirements on decisively improving qualities and efficiency. Any responsible manager must be bold enough to change previously levied requirements and efficiency targets if they fail to meet the new demands, and this he must do with all rigor and consistency.

A decidedly combative position must be taken everywhere in making still more effective the objectively extant great possibilities, that is to say, the enormously grown potential in knowledge, skill and creative abilities on the part of our workers, the intellectuals and all working people as well as the material possibilities available, the raw materials and other materials available, and the available basic assets, and it must all be done through the highest grade of work and labor efficiency in the spirit of intensification.

To move ahead more extensively toward intensification, we must rationalize in the socialist way, in the best sense of the word, all across the board. Not the most expensive solution is the best solution but the one that brings success most rapidly through the most modest means. The values of basic assets available are many times those of any new investment. The question how they could be made more efficient through a relatively minor effort is worth asking. This is what rationalization is all about, one of the priorities of which also is the replacement of heavy physical labor by mechanization. The path that leads to it is set. It leads via the indigenous production of the means of rationalization. It has to be increased to 167 percent in the current Five-Year Plan. In 1977, it will already amount to M 800 million. That is approximately 11 percent of the total rationalization investments. Roughly half of all centrally-directed enterprises already have capacities for producing the means of rationalization. That now has to be carried further. Special attention should be given here to assembly and welding operations and to intra-plant transportation.

The solution of all these tasks in accelerating scientific-technical progress and achieving peak performance in decisive commodities also involves an extensive rationalization that includes the improvement of the working and living conditions. All that belongs closely together, all of it being part of our total concept of better quality and labor efficiency toward implementing the policy of the Ninth Party Congress.

We may accept as a fact that the crucial objective conditions for our moving toward the further shaping of the developed socialist society have changed in our favor since the Eighth Party Congress. That is true of the continuity in our economic development, the dimensions of our production, the scope of our investments for strengthening our material-technical base and, above all, the greater potential in knowledge and skills of the workers, engineers and scientists. The political consciousness, maturity and the readiness for achievement on the part of the working people also have grown. All this makes possible for us to utilize still more effectively the objective economic laws of socialism in implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions. How the subjective factor can be applied to the better utilization of the advantages of socialism now becomes a decisive matter. Now more than ever, a profound ideological comprehension of the newly matured tasks in combination with clear and purposeful management activity and high discipline and organization on all working levels will be what counts. Where one understands these interrelations between the substance of the requirements and the approach to their solution one also succeeds in drawing the appropriate conclusions from them.

This is the sense in which the quality of the requirements and the choice of the target decide from the outset the result that can be reached. This kind of attitude and approach to the solution of the tasks more and more inform the atmosphere. What we have to do is to structure all economic relations in our society in such a way that all social conditions inherent to the advantages of socialism be created, in order to optimize the scope of quality improvement and labor efficiency.

At the fifth session of our party's Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker pointed to another basic trend in further perfecting the structure of our economy by saying: "The main trend lies in our processing as far as possible the raw materials, the initial materials available to us, through skilled labor and to produce high-grade end products. This way we make use fully of our country's advantages, mainly of the resources of its experienced and educated workers."³

Fundamental economic conclusions follow from that requirement. For one thing it means using as efficiently as possible and for high end results whatever is available in our reproduction process in embodied labor. We must do everything we can, using every ton of coal, every ton of cement, every ton of rolling-steel, every square meter of fabric, whatever the material, in the production process, to hold consumption losses to an absolute minimum, reduce specific expenditures and yet reach a high degree of refinement through creative and highly skilled labor.

At the same time this is a matter of utilizing maximally in our economic processes all the "secondary raw materials," the by-products of production and consumption. They have to be returned to the economic cycle so that they can again be used as raw materials. These so-called secondary raw materials like scrap, old paper, glass and so forth, being of rich initial substance, are as a rule much cheaper to recycle than is the production of original raw materials from their natural resources. And that is why it is correct to say they are our cheapest raw materials.

To utilize and employ natural resources and raw materials as efficiently as possible is however primarily a question of the quality of labor employed in the production of the newly created goods. Karl Marx has pointed out "that the earlier stage of production is contained in the later one, and that by setting a higher intrinsic value the old value is preserved."⁴ That also means that a higher quality of the processed material is a basic condition for the most efficient utilization of the goods created during the preceding production stage. Only through purposive labor at proper quality can the material in the economic reproduction process be preserved from stage to stage. High-grade quality is a basic condition for great economic efficiency.

This connects with another basic conclusion to be drawn from the orientation in the Politburo report. The live labor available in our economy must also be made more efficient in that a higher proportion of high-quality work is produced in each hour of working time. And that also means systematically increasing the proportion of skilled labor within the totality of the social labor capacity of our economy, that is to say, the kind of labor that is distinguished by a high scientific-creative content as well as by fine craftsmanship, skill and special knowledge and traditions and great artisanship. The number of manpower constitutes an objective limit to the total labor time expendable within the national economy. So it is all the more important to render our assets in live labor economically more efficient through high skills and high-grade labor.

There is a comprehensive requirement here in further economizing in our production in terms of high-grade quality and labor efficiency, which is of great practical importance and which at the same time challenges us to penetrate more deeply into socialist economics on theoretical grounds. The main point would be to analyze more accurately the interrelations and dynamics in the overall process of the intensively expanded reproduction in our economy as well as in the combines and enterprises. Any given production branch can always only derive its particular tasks as a part of the overall social reproduction process; its real contribution can only be gaged against the economic end result.

To Close the Economic Cycle in the Combines

It is a great advantage of socialism that it is possible, by weighing all the pertinent factors, systematically to organize the reproduction process in all its phases and interconnections. It is done on the level of the national economy but is needed equally much in those places where this process takes place in concrete forms, in the enterprises and combines. In the GDR's socialist industry, in accordance with the diverse requirements of a reproduction process under highly efficient organization, there are combines and enterprises with large production volumes as well as medium-size and small enterprises, especially in the bezirk-directed industry. Those enterprises are important today and will be important in the future for the development of our economy in supplying the population, in export and as subsidiaries.

Combines, so surveys show, have been useful to our economy. Combines combine large economic forces, even social forces, effectively. Industrial commodity production has in fact increased especially fast in the combines. Whereas in the total area under the industrial ministries it rose in 1976 by 147.1 percent compared to 1970, the figure reached 151.4 percent in the directly subordinate combines. Labor productivity in the former came to 137.6 percent in the same period, in the latter, 139.7 percent. How important these combines are to our economy can also be seen by the fact that they handle 38.9 percent of our industrial production.

Their share in the industrial ministries' exports lies at 48.8 percent for exports to the socialist economic sphere and at 45.6 percent to the non-socialist. Thus our export strength is by and large concentrated in the combines. Of the greatest importance in this connection is that the crucial scientific-technical peak accomplishments, which so decisively determine our economic efficiency, are being achieved in the combines. Thus one finds confirmed that all that which is part of the unified reproduction process is organically being combined within the combines.

According to the decisions of the 5th Central Committee session, the combines are being organized into economic units that can master in complex fashion the basic issues of their expanded reproduction. The research and technology potential, the production capacity, crucially important subsidiary supplies, their own development of means of rationalization and the structuring of

of working and living conditions are part of it and have to be managed uniformly. At the same time, new directly subordinate combines are being formed in order to overcome in certain important sectors some multi-step management arrangement and to make them more efficient. And subsidiary deliveries also have to be more strongly drawn into it.

By perfecting the existing combines and forming new, directly subordinate combines a new significant step is taken toward the further development of socialist production relations leading to the developed socialist society.

By the strengthening of democratic centralism that comes with it, effective conditions are created for developing the advantages of socialism and its organic connection with the scientific-technical revolution. The development of the combines strengthens the economic foundation for the power and ever growing leadership role of the workers class in our socialist society. Still more favorable preconditions arise for consolidating the alliance between the workers class and the socialist intelligentsia. And we always have in mind here that the forward development of the productive forces in socialism is an irresistible social process, with its long-term communist prospects, which time and again keeps posing new demands on the development of the production relations.

The perfecting and forming of combines conforms to the grown dimensions of our national economy, the increasing demands for quantitative and qualitative interlinking in the reproduction process, and the general orientation of our economic development toward higher quality and labor efficiency. This thus creates yet more favorable preconditions for still more efficiency in the socialist planned economy. The perfecting of the existing and the forming of new combines is a crucial matter for the successful implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions on strengthening our material-technical base up to 1980 and beyond.

A fundamental experience in the life of the workers class and our entire people now is that whatever the party decrees as target and task in all domains of public life will become reality. This experience provided by the political-ideological work mainly of our party organizations, and leading to an understanding of the deeper interconnections, makes the people in our country feel secure, safe and optimistic and dispels the fear of the morrow and the anxiety about jobs.

While proceeding from the scientific understanding of the objective developmental laws, socialist society offers the objective possibility to direct human actions deliberately at being brought to realization in the interest of men. "The spectrum of the conditions of life surrounding men," as Engels wrote in his "Anti-Duehring," "now falls under the domination and control of men who now become for the first time truly the masters of nature because and in as much as they become the masters of their own socialization. The laws of their own social action, which heretofore confronted them as alien natural laws holding dominion over them, are then being applied, and thus controlled, by men with all their expertise." So that the

"causes they themselves have set in motion principally, and increasingly, have the very effects they had intended them to have."⁵ We are making use of this our "own free activity," to quote Engels once more, to optimize the conditions for our social advances for the benefit of the people.

Our party, in thoroughly analyzing the status of social, and particularly of economic, development reached, in presenting these matters openly in front of the workers class and the whole people and, with it, in determining the necessary tasks, provides the direction and goal for all active efforts in the overall interest in implementing our main task. In setting the appropriate targets for human action that conform to objective requirements, our socialist planning also provides true freedom for the development of society and of the individual, for it guarantees the conscious control over complicated economic and social processes. The fulfillment of the tasks that have to be solved here also serves as challenge to the full development of all creative abilities of the personality and of the collectives.

At its fifth session, the Central Committee of our party dealt with matters of principle in the further development of our material-technical base. The point here is to insure the dynamic development of our economy up to 1980 and beyond. The very fact that socialism offers every person real prospects for a life in peace, social progress and freedom and that it creates all conditions for the full development of personality is an achievement of historic importance that can never be overrated. Proceeding from the important role material production plays for all social development, our party even now, looking forward to the future, insures the material preconditions for a smooth continuation of our policy which is aimed at the well-being of the people.

All preconditions are provided for it by our stable socialist social order which is further consolidating. Standing firmly at the side of the Soviet Union, the GDR, particularly now in the 60th year of the Great Socialist October Revolution, is making its contribution to the strengthening of socialism. And we find decisive strength for it arising out of socialist economic integration. Thanks to the close fraternal alliance our country has with the Soviet Union and through the cooperation with the CEMA countries, decisive preconditions are being created for making the advantages of socialism take hold still more vigorously in the life of our people. The ever closer economic cooperation among the countries of the socialist community, based on the firm foundation of identical socioeconomic premises and the objective laws relying on them, provides new possibilities for the development of the advantages of socialism. Tasks can be solved this way, in securing the raw material bases, energy supply, and also more and more the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and an efficient application of its data in production, that any country by itself either could not solve at all or would find extremely hard to solve. And that also provides our country with secure foundations for continued successful advances.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 16.
2. Ibid., p 9.
3. Ibid., p 22.
4. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1953, p 267.
5. Friedrich Engels, "Herr Eugen Duehring's Revolution in Science," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 264.

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EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 5, May 77 signed to press 11 Apr 77
"For Documentation" addendum

Rationalization and Reconstruction Under One's Own Power

[Summary of article by Dr Hansjoachim Hahn, member, SED Dresden Bezirk Management; director general, Electrical Machinery Construction Combine (VEB); pp 577-582]

[Text] In focusing on the intensification concept that serves the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan tasks, a task of major emphasis in the political-ideological work of the party and the trade union and in the activities of the state managers at the Electrical Machinery Construction Combine (VEB) lies on the construction of means of rationalization out of their own resources. A management activity containing complex solutions in rationalization and in improving efficiency and smoothly continuing cooperation with Soviet partners help the combine more vigorously mobilize the working people's initiatives in order to meet to an increased degree the Five-Year Plan requirements.

October Experiences--Turn of an Era, Literature and Emergence of the Revolutionary German Culture

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Dieter Schiller, head of research group, Central Institute for History of Literature, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 583-589]

[Text] In the difficult and contradictory process of facing the historical dynamics of our epoch, authors and artists have gained new ideas and a new conception of the world historic dimension of the proletarian revolution by their contacts with Soviet society. This experience helped create a literature which is part of the revolutionary proletarian movement and in developing a revolutionary German cultural movement in the '20's involving all arts and broad public circles in the revolutionary struggle.

'Anti-Duehring'--An Encyclopedia of Marxism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Rolf Bauermann, dean (prorektor) for social sciences, Martin Luther University, Halle; and Prof Dr Wolfgang Jahn, head of research group at that university's Marxism-Leninism section; pp 590-598]

[Text] Because of its polemical and offensive interpretation of the three components of Marxism in their cohesive unity and due to its profound ideological content, Engels' treatise -- written 100 years ago in the struggle for the defense and enforcement of Marxism in the workers movement -- remains an indispensable textbook for ideological education, the scientific-theoretical and political-ideological work in shaping developed socialism, and the confrontation with bourgeois ideology. This is being demonstrated by the authors while they also at the same time offer many suggestions for studying and exploiting the wealth of ideas in the work.

Social Production According to Plan in Socialism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Georg Ebert, deputy director, department of Political Economy of Socialism, SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College; and Prof Dr Harry Milke, head of the party college's teaching and research program for political economy and economic sciences; pp 599-605]

[Text] History is confirming the realization Friedrich Engels announced in his "Anti-Duehring" that only socialism can systematically organize social production "in accordance with the needs of all society as well as of each individual." Prerequisite to it are the political power of the workers class and the public ownership in the means of production, on the basis of which objective economic inevitabilities take effect. The conditions of the deliberate utilization of these economic laws of socialism change in the process of social development; social planning must be adjusted accordingly.

New Natural Science Findings on the Cosmos From the Ideological Viewpoint

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Herbert Hoerz, program head, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member of the academy; and Prof Dr Hans-Juergen Treder, director, Central Institute for Astrophysics, GDR Academy of Sciences; full member of the academy; pp 606-615]

[Text] The basic principles of dialectical materialism as formulated by Engels in his "Anti-Duehring" and in other works (the material unity of the world; the pervasive principle of development; and the inexhaustibility of material objects, processes and so forth) are confirmed in recent natural science findings on the cosmos. They are enriched, deepened and rendered more concrete by this new material in the natural sciences, and they stand up well in the confrontation with idealistic and metaphysical misinterpretations of these findings as well as in natural science research itself.

Doubly Exploited and Oppressed

[Summary of article by Ralf Wahner, chief editor, "Current Information From Politics and Economics," GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 616-621]

[Text] The position of the working woman in the capitalist countries continues to be her playing the role of a "less expensive working tool," subject to economic, social and political discrimination. The higher degree of unemployment among women, their lower earnings for identical work, the absence of any genuine educational and advanced training opportunities, and thus of vocational opportunities for development, and numerous other facts demonstrate that in capitalism the basic human right of woman's equality is not being brought to realization and that only the surmounting of capitalism can bring the liberation of woman.

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HUNGARY

EDUCATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES DESCRIBED

Budapest PEDAGOGIAI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 6, Jun 77 pp 496-502

[Article by Mrs Robert Jakab and Ferenc Stark: "Our Education of Nationalities" excerpts from a talk: "Equal Rights for Nationalities in the Areas of Education and Instruction" given at the UNESCO symposium.]

[Text] Part I

The Hungarian People's Republic is not among those nations which have significant numbers of nationality population. Today, from the viewpoint of cultural care and organization of education, we have a nationality population of about 400,000 people, about 4 percent of the total population.

This small number of nationality population lives scattered in a large area (in 18 of the country's 19 megyes). The picture is very fragmented from the standpoint of the number of nationalities and also from the size of the individual nationality groups: Croats, Germans, Romanians, Serbians, Slovaks and Slovenes live in Hungary in numbers from 4,000 to about 36,000.

The Hungarian People's Republic considers the Croats, Germans, Romanians, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovenes living on its territory to be fraction groups of the respective neighboring or more distant nations living in Hungary, that is, nationalities.

It is characteristic for all nationalities alike that several centuries ago they settled in their present locations voluntarily, and during history they have become integral parts of Hungary's society. A further general characteristic of them is their bilinguality. The majority of the nationalities speak archaic dialects and maintain rich popular traditions to which they are strongly attached.

The stated, historically developed conditions determine the concrete demands and needs of each nationality group, and our country assures the satisfying of these--according to the Leninist principles of its nationality policy--by guaranteeing the rights of the minority in harmony with the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights and through measures the goals of which are the practical realization of these rights. As far as their essence is concerned, these typical demands and efforts of the nationality populations are directed at the care, maintenance and growth of their native languages and cultural traditions, and for the maintenance of cultural links with their mother nations.

In the Hungarian People's Republic, [which is] building socialism, the nationality policy is not a function of the number of people in the nationality but is based upon the principles of our social system and our internationalist policy.

Our laws guarantee all those rights which are included in the UN human rights declaration and which follow from the internationalism and humanism of the socialist order. Our constitution makes the realization of equal rights for nationalities possible in every respect. In paragraph 61, beyond establishing that the citizens of our country are equal before the law and enjoy equal rights, the law punishes heavily any disadvantageous discrimination of citizens on the basis of their sex, religion or nationality, and it especially mentions that it guarantees equal rights for all nationalities living within the area of the Hungarian People's Republic, the use of their native tongues, education in their native languages and the protection and caring for their own cultures. Thus it speaks of those typical things which are the fundamental conditions of maintaining and fulfilling the nationality existence.

The constitution's above-mentioned paragraph also determines the most general method of our nationality policy. It not only declares rights but also provides assurances for the practice of equal rights and the characteristic rights of the nationalities. Realization of equal rights also means, and the practice of the nationality policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is directed at [assuring], that, beyond honoring equal rights as prescribed by the laws, it should, by its affirmative actions, eliminate the difficulties objectively arising from the situations of the nationalities in the path of their development. This cannot be a one-time act; it calls for following the general and special characteristics of progress with constant attention, the harmonization of the demands and the methods of fulfilling them from time to time, and also the improvement and renewing of their intellectual and material investments.

The citizens of nationalities living in our country enjoy equal rights: They may freely use their native tongues in the forums of national government and of public life; their schooling may be in their own languages and they may, in the spirit of socialist ideology, practice their developing national cultures. They participate as citizens of equal rights in the work of the elected national and socialist organs and bodies. Their cultural links connecting them to their mother nations are assured by bilateral international agreements.

Our efforts include the intention of fulfilling the nationality existence, so that through this we assure in a natural way the lasting effect of the cultures on each other--mutual and organic enrichment. The bilingual nationalities living within the boundries of influence of two cultures may, by the effect they exert on their broader surroundings, thus fulfill that task which is placed before them by the 20th century progress, the strengthening of cultural links between nations, thus contributing to peoples and nations getting closer to each other.

These principles are in effect in the areas of nationality education and instruction also.

Part II

The role the nationality issue fulfills in Hungary's public education and public instruction is determined by the task of our entire society's socialist and internationalist education. One of the tests of this is precisely the care for the nationalities, for which our society is obligated, among other things, by the common goal and friendly relations between the Hungarian people and the mother nations of the nationalities which live together with us. Our efforts so far in this direction have also been confirmed by the contents of the closing document of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation.

A) Our educational authorities make the acquisition of the mother language at literary levels the primary task of the nationality schools. This is because the overwhelming majority of the nationality population in Hungary does not speak the literary language but its dialects, brought with them at the time of their settling in. There are various reasons for this. In some settlements, for example, education of the mother language was completely missing; in the schools under church direction often the dialect was taught. (In the schools of the Slovene villages, for example, the regional "Vend" language was taught.) We consider the acquisition of the mother language on the literary level to be such a fundamental tool as to have a definitive role in fulfilling the nationality existence and in the development of the nationality conscience.

Since the liberation, a national school network cares for the fulfillment of the nationality educational needs in this country. This network is composed of training before school (kindergarten), elementary schools (ages 6 to 14), high schools and secondary trade schools (ages 14 to 18) and college and university training. According to law No 3 of 1961 on Hungary's public educational system, a kindergarten, elementary school or study group teaching the nationality language is established in all those settlements where the parents of 15 children request it, but in many cases nationality education is organized or maintained for even 4 or 5 students.

According to our situations, we have developed two types of nationality kindergartens and elementary schools. One type is the so-called adapted

language or bilingual nationality kindergarten or school. Here the activities, or the instruction is in the mother language for half of the subjects and in Hungarian for the other half. The ratio of the mother language and of the Hungarian language subjects is similar in the nationality high schools. But the system of concepts, technical expressions of the subjects taught in Hungarian are also taught in the mother language in the elementary schools as well as in the highschools.

The other type is the language teaching school, where instruction is in Hungarian, with 3 hours of nationality language instruction weekly in grades 1 and 2 and 4 hours in grades from 3 through 8.

The training of nationality educators is done in kindergarten-teacher, specialized secondary schools, colleges and universities. Our state has taken effective measures for the further development of nationality education: The quota of nationality students who can be accepted into colleges for training as educators was increased; training was modernized; 10 or 5 percent wage supplement was introduced for educators who teach in nationality languages, and a department of nationalities was established in the National Pedagogic Institute. In the interest of coordinated directing of the elementary-, secondary- and university-level nationality education, the Nationality Educational Committee was formed in 1975 as a body within the Ministry of Education, which committee operates directly under the secretary's supervision. All those who perform tasks in the nationality mother-language education participate in the committee's work. The committee is in direct contact with the nationality federations which represent the collective rights and interest of the nationalities, asks for and takes into consideration their observations and suggestions and determines its actions in close cooperation with them.

It is understandable that the number of students in the kindergartens, elementary schools and high schools which also teach in the languages of the nationalities shows an increasing trend, after a temporary decline experienced at the end of the fifties. In the last decade alone, the number participating in language instruction in the kindergartens and elementary schools and the number of those studying in the nationality highschools increased by 48 percent; the number of nationality educational institutions increased by 45 percent; the number of study groups by 63 percent, and the number of teachers teaching in nationality institutions by 46 percent.

B) Our educational authorities have determined the goal and tasks of the educational-instructional work for nationalities in the spirit of the Universal Human Rights Declaration. They have stated that the education and instruction of nationalities in Hungary will be realized in Hungary within the system of the Hungarian People's Republic's educational-instructional system, as an organic part of it. Its basic principles, general goal and tasks are contained in law No 3 or 1961.

"Within this, it is the special goal of the education and instruction of the nationalities to:

--insure the education and instruction of the Southern Slavic--Croat, Serb, Slovene--, German, Romanian and Slovak nationality students in their own mother language;

--lay firm foundations for a many-sided development of the knowledge among the students that the Croat, Serb, Slovene, German, Romanian and Slovak nationalities are citizens with equal rights of their socialist country, the Hungarian People's Republic;

--build up and keep alive the demand among the students and develop the ability to use their mother language and the Hungarian language on a high level;

--provide a modern basic education for them in their mother language and literary education based on this and enable them to further develop their general education through independent study using their mother language also;

--teach them to love and appreciate the culture of their mother language, provide sufficient educational materials to learn it and thus promote the saving of progressive traditions in order to deepen their attachment to their culture and language; [and]

--develop and strengthen the ambition in the students to serve the ideals of the friendship of peoples, of internationalist cooperation."

The realization of the above goals is significantly influenced by the situation of the nationalities in Hungary described earlier and, within this, the condition of the languages spoken by our nationalities--the language knowledge of the children who enter school.

Our educational authorities are making efforts also to develop the training of nationality teachers. In this area it is an important help that, on the basis of bilateral agreements--the majority of which also aid in the cultural and educational care of Hungarians living in neighboring countries--our teachers have regular opportunities to participate in summer language training courses organized in the countries of their mother languages, and the cooperation of excellent foreign language teachers in further domestic education is also a factor not less important. Bilateral international agreements also make it possible for nationality youth--for the greatest part teacher candidates--to obtain all or part of their university level education in the countries of their mother language. And this also results in the increase of the number of nationality intellectuals--within this, teachers--who know the literary language well. Our conviction--that the training of nationality teachers at the proper level cannot be accomplished without the effective assistance of the mother nations--was formed on the basis of our experience.

Thus close cooperation with the given socialist countries contributes to a large extent to the nationality education functioning with full value, and to its further development. This is also valid, beyond the training of teachers, for the publication of school books, for the exchange of these and for practically every area of education and instruction.

Beyond the direct, practical usefulness manifest in our educational-instructional work, all this has significant effects upon the development of the nationality conscience and upon the shaping of our internationalist characteristics, since the cultural demands of the nationality population--in this country and in the neighboring foreign countries alike--can be completely satisfied at the proper level only through the ever-more-intensive exchange of the intellectual treasures between the countries.

C) The content, forms and frameworks of education are changing rapidly in the whole world. The changes and making changes are necessary. But our goals also have permanent characteristics which are uniform throughout our socialist school system. These are: The development of such a person as is made a creative man by multifacetedness and who is able to shape conscientiously natural-social conditions in harmony with society as a whole, as a member of the community.

Thus the goal of our education in school and outside of school is to form the man who has modern education, who through his own activity shapes the picture of the world and in whom the need lives to experience the developing reality. Thus it is the school's task--including the nationality school--among others to provide serious support in the process of self-realization through learning facts and reality, beginning with self... [One line is missing here in the text, and one line is repeated due to misprint: context unintelligible, sentence incomplete. Translator.] ...it is the role of the school to develop people who conscientiously accept their nationality; who know the culture, history and present of their own country; [who know their own] nationality and the nationality of those living in the same country with them; [who know] those things which bind together the two (or more) neighboring and, exactly because of this, interdependent peoples [and who know] those things which are the same and which are different. We wish to serve the accomplishment of this task, also, through the development of the teaching plans and through the selection of the contents of education.

D) Without the need for completeness, let a few examples be mentioned here. In the elementary and high schools where the language of instruction is a nationality language, in addition to the current history and geography books, we also teach "supplementary" history and geography. The supplementary school books provide more and better systematized knowledge than before, in the language of each nationality, about the geography and history of the given country, and about the story of the given nationality in Hungary. This also contributes to the deepening of the national and nationality knowledge and conscience. The students learn the historic material of those efforts for which the goal was the mutual learning, appreciation and cooperation of the peoples along the Danube. Our principle is that the differences

of the past should not be hidden in silence but opened up and analyzed in the interest of deepened and lasting relationships. In teaching the past we cannot speak of "dual" (or "multiple") "truths" as "there is only one internationality in our own country in the interest of the development of self-sacrificing work of the revolutionary movement and of the revolutionary battle, and the support of this same direction and only of this in every country without exception." ("Lenin," Volume 24, p 60)

From the viewpoint of the social integration of the nationalities, as well as of their link-building role between the nations, we attribute much importance to it that the growing generation should, during its studies, learn in detail the centuries old historic and cultural connections of the Hungarians and the neighboring peoples.

In the teaching material of the 6- to 10-year-old age group in language, literature, reading and environmental studies, there are, in the teaching plan of every nationality, the popular poetry pieces of the given nationality and those creations which in every case, recalling the time of Turkish occupation and of the Rakoczi liberation fight, provide knowledge also of the cooperation of the various nationalities, and, by the route of an indirect aesthetic experience, are emotionally tuned for the deepening of the friendship of peoples.

In the study material of the 10- to 14-year-old age group there are such parts, for example, in the Croat-Serb teaching plan: "similarities in contents and form in the story treasures of neighboring peoples; popular poetry of the southern Slavs, Romanians, Germans and Slovaks in Hungary." The teaching plan of the Slovak language and literature prescribes the introduction of characteristic nationality surroundings, the description of joint activities of this country's multinational citizens, popular customs of Slovaks living in Hungary. Beyond this, a parallel is drawn between the desire for freedom, for example, of the Slovak poet Janko Kral' and [the Hungarian poet] Sandor Petofi, the poetic odes of Andrej Sladkovic Detvan and Janos Arany's ode titled "Toldi," and [the teaching plan] elaborates on the significance of the meeting of minds of Endre Ady [Hungarian] and P. O. Hviezdoslav. The Romanian language teaching plans emphasize the joint cooperation in the Horia, Closca, Crisan uprising of serfs; they deal with Bartok and the Romanian music and with the connections between Kossuth and Balcescu. The German language teaching plans contain the Hungarian connections in the life works of Goethe, Schiller and the life of Lenau and prescribe the teaching of the characteristics of the popular poetry of Germans in Hungary.

The issue of teaching the links appears in a more complex form in the teaching plans of the high schools: in the tasks of the teaching plan and in the demands. The Serbo-Croatian high school's teaching plan points out, for example, that the mutual cultural connections have been lasting since the middle ages to our days, that the Croat and Hungarian cultures were connected with strong ties during the renaissance and that in the court of King Matyas, for example, a whole line of Croatian and Dalmatian humanists lived and

worked. The life of the humanist poet Janus Pannonius again refers to other types of mutual ties. In analyzing the popular and literary creations which speak of the heroes of joint battles against the Turkish oppression, the teaching plan points out the identical nature of our peoples' historic interests. The active translation activity which began in the age of romanticism receives proper evaluation: the interest which, on the Hungarian part, is developing towards the southern Slav popular poetry, the effect of this on the life work of the classical Hungarian poets and, on the Serb part, the extraordinarily active connections of Jovan Jovanovic Zmajnak, the first significant translator of Hungarian literary creations in the Hungarian literature. (It is also important to point all of these out because we are speaking of an era when the domineering Austrian circles, the chauvinistic Hungarian and Serb bourgeoisies tried to turn the two peoples against each other.) Of the writers of the age of realism, Jakov Ignjatovic receives a special role in the teaching plan. In spite of being a Croat, at the time of the 1848 battle for freedom Ignjatovic fought in the Hungarian army as a mounted cavalryman. In his memoirs he described several figures of the Hungarian literature, Petofi among others. Of the great writers of the 20th century, the teaching plan emphasizes the Hungarian aspects of Miroslav Krleza's life work.

The Slovak language and literature's teaching plan also draws a constant parallel between the development of the two cultures and two literatures. Just a few examples from the instructions in the teaching plan: "The students will see that the battle raging between the Hungarian middle-nobility and the Slovak civic intelligentsia peaked in 1848. The creators of the Slovak popular, nationalist direction and of the modern Slovak literature fought against the Hungarian freedom fight with weapons in their hands. In spite of this, numerous connections may be found in the era's literature: mutual effects, personal connections, the joint past of the two peoples and numerous common heroes as a result of the past's common battles." Detailing the literature of the years after the suppression of the freedom fight, the instruction emphasizes that "attention must be paid, while studying the era's writers, to the manifestations of the Slovak-Hungarian approach to each other" (new school).

But considering the goals of the instruction, even every brief and seemingly insignificant remark is important. For example: "Have the teacher of the subject make the students compare the symbolisms of Krasko and Ady" or: "the students should note the similar lines in the poetry of Wolker and Attila Jozsef." "...We should point out the phase shift appearing in the literary development of the two nations--for example, socialist realism already appears consciously in the Slovak literature between the two world wars--and the reasons for this...." In this era also "the students should see the links between Hungarian and Slovak literatures: E. B. Lukac: 'Stlp hanby' [sic--probably misprint]. M. Babits: 'The Book of Jonas'; the translation activities of J. Smrek and of E. B. Lukac; S. Krcmery's studies of Ady, etc."

It is also extremely important from the viewpoint of methods to direct attention to the principles of comparisons in our documentations, and at the opportunities derived from this. In teaching language, grammar, stylistic tools, literature theory concepts, directions of style and eras of literature one must exploit the effect of positive transfer.

Of course, we must teach not only the students of the nationality schools in this spirit; our present teaching plans and the contents of the new school documentations developed now and to be introduced at the end of the decade prove alike that the deepening of the knowledge of equal human rights, equality in rank, the teaching of mutual respect and appreciation for each other and the laying down of the foundations of ideas and feelings of humanistic principles are also the goal of teaching every subject in the schools where the language of instruction is Hungarian.

Part III

By narrowing the topic, we attempted above to provide a sketchy picture of those efforts of ours through which our country assures equal rights for the nationalities in the areas of education and instruction and to introduce the goals and tasks of nationality education in Hungary and the role which the question of nationalities occupies in our educational practice.

Our party's consistent Marxist-Leninist policy, the democratism of our society's entire life makes its effect felt significantly also among the nationality population. It has been proven that socialist democratism is one of the most effective tools for the elimination of inherited nationality problems.

This area of our education is very sensitive. This sensitivity proves that actually there are no "small" problems as far as nationalities are concerned. One single little inattentiveness--for example, one omitted [bit of] information about school enrollment opportunities--is sufficient to damage private rights: sufficient to the extent that those affected by it may feel to have discovered intentions foreign to our goals and efforts. Every move of work done in the area of nationalities requires sufficiently circumspect and careful attention. We must dissolve the reservations still existing among many, so that they may live with the unique nationality rights which our laws assure for them.

We feel that the practice of our Leninist nationality policy, and, within this, the measures we have taken in the areas of education and instruction have resulted during the last decade in the uniform increase of the level of nationality culture. And, for example, when we look at the beginnings of independent literary activities of the small nationality groups--for the development of which the educational results have also provided assistance--we feel that the wish of Gabor Garai, written in 1969 are in the process of becoming reality: "...If the past's culture-depressing traditions would finally disappear, if literature in the living mother-languages would here also become popular: Why do I wish this? Simply

because my love for my own mother-language can only become harmonious if I know that the small child in Szarvas, who today is learning to ask for bread in Slovak, tomorrow--while he will be a good citizen of this country--will learn the things of beauty and humanity in his own language also. I know the opportunity for it exists, but the desire must be boosted so that they may use it, because freedom, the freedom of language and education in the mother language is a collective concept not only for legally assured opportunities but also for "well nourished" natural desires."

8584

CSO: 2500

POLAND

POPULAR JOURNAL ATTACKS DISSIDENT ACTIVITY

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 22, 3 Jun 77 p 8

[Article by Ryszard Swierkowski: "Another Attempt"]

[Text] On the very day that the Council of State acknowledged the possibility of exercising its right to pardon some participants in the incidents in Radom and Ursus, the first secretary of the Central Committee met with the labor force of the Ursus Plant. That was on 3 February 1977. It is worth recalling an excerpt from the speech delivered during that meeting, for it explains many of the issues which will be referred to in this article.

Referring to the events of June, Edward Gierek said: "We all had difficulty surviving the drama of that day. You, the whole community, the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, the government, I personally. No one can be blamed for having an opposing view concerning the government proposal for a change in the price structure and for corresponding increases in wages, if he expressed it in an atmosphere of gravity and calm." Referring to the responsibility for an offense against the public order, E. Gierek then said: "Of course, it is not for me to pass sentence. That is a matter for the courts. However, I have found, and I still think that the moral judgment of behavior which is at cross purposes with the principles of public law and order, with a socialist democracy, is the most important thing. If society views this behavior correctly and critically, it can be lenient with particular perpetrators without changing its evaluation of the question of guilt. As you certainly know, in September of last year I approached the Council of State with a request to recommend to the public prosecutor's office and the courts the magnanimous treatment of individuals among those found guilty of offenses committed during the incidents of 25 June who were workers and who previously enjoyed a good reputation. I believe that the social conditions are ripe for further progress in this matter and for the broader exercise of the right to pardon those who were sentenced and who have shown penitence and show good promise of not taking the path of delinquency again."

What is the state of affairs today in connection with the June incidents?

On the basis of the decision of the Council of State, all those sentenced, with the exception of the five individuals sentenced for serious vulgar offenses, are at liberty. Four of these five are recidivists. Here are their "calling cards." Czeslaw Chomicki--punished four times to date for theft and hooligan offenses; sentenced last year to 9 years' imprisonment for destroying and setting fire to public institutional buildings. Wacław Skrzypek--punished as many as 14 times in the years 1950-1974 for criminal and hooligan offenses; sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment for destroying office and institutional buildings and for inciting others to destroy them. Zygmunt Zbigniew Zaborowski--punished 10 times for hooligan offenses; destroyed public buildings and incited others to commit similar acts; sentenced to a punishment of 10 years' imprisonment. Marek Majewski--sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for cutting rails with a welder. Adam Zukowski--punished 3 times in the years 1965-1968 for hooligan acts; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for damaging a railroad line and for derailing an electric locomotive.

In defense of just these five sentenced individuals, and also as a sign of protest against the detention recently of a group of people openly serving foreign centers of ideological subversion and actively participating in attempts to break the law and to disturb the public order in Poland, several individuals began a 7-day protest hunger strike on 24 May 1977. People of different political interests met in Saint Martin's Church in Warsaw. But they have a common goal. In the wave of attacks on Poland which has been taking place for a certain time now, this goal is supposed to be another attempt at provocation activities undertaken at the order of foreign principals. One more scene was played out in a scrupulously prepared scenario. It did not succeed on 15 May in Krakow, although the conditions seemed favorable: a school holiday, city streets controlled by amused young students, and news of the death of one of the students. It did not succeed on 20 May in Warsaw, where act two was to be played out in a stirring requiem scene.

A death, a funeral service, and now, in turn, a hunger strike. Perhaps there are some bits of information on the Polish psyche in this sequence. Perhaps. A nation which endured so much in its history also has to be sensitive to the individual fates of its people. That is true. It is only that this sensitive people is also a wise people. History shapes the psyche, but history also teaches thoughtfulness and enriches with continually new experiences.

I had wanted to have a talk with those people in the church. I had wanted to ask them what they knew about the five individuals on whose behalf they had decided to become seriously involved. Seriously--if only because they were manifesting their attitude before public opinion, and also (and perhaps even primarily) before public opinion outside of Poland. And I had wanted them to tell me what they thought--in their own opinion--about those who had been "innocently" imprisoned and about those who had recently been

"unjustly" detained. I had wanted to write down what they said and to compare it with what I myself knew about this matter. My proposal was not accepted. They said they did not want the publicity. Yet it is generally known that immediately after they began their hunger strike, their declaration was transmitted eagerly to foreign centers. The pastor of the church did not want to answer my questions; but a fellow journalist from REUTER obtained some information. The pastor referred me to the group's spokesman. I went, I talked with him. He denied it: he was not the spokesman, but a representative. And he confirmed that the hunger strike participants had decided not to grant interviews. I should add that after conveying my proposal individually, as it were, to the concerned parties, on Saturday night I received the very same response for the second time. They said that everything they had to communicate was contained in their declaration. Well, probably not everything, however. In any case, not everything which could have been the content of our conversation. But before I get to the text of the declaration handed over to me by the representative, a handful of information on its signatories. Who are they? I could not conceal my surprise at the fact that he could not tell me something about all of them. I marvel at his courage--to be the representative of people whom he does not know.

The first signer on the list is Boguslawa Blajfer-Seweryn. "It is hard for me to say anything about her," says the representative. Let us say from our own information, therefore, that she was an active participant in the March disturbances in 1968, that she earned herself a sentence of 3 years' imprisonment, that she does not work anywhere. Ozjasz Szechter, a 76-year-old pensioner. The representative informed me that Szechter is the father by adoption of Adam Michnik and that the latter uses his mother's name. It is worth adding to this information that two other Michniks emigrated to Israel in their day. Barbara Torunczyk, who has been maintaining contacts with the RWE [Radio Free Europe] and the Paris KULTURA group for 10 years, is in this group. She was a participant in the meetings and appearances of the notorious "commandos" of 1968. Among others, there are Danuta and Lucyna Chomicka, the wife and sister of Czeslaw Chomicki, who is serving his prison sentence.

Do they really believe that they are standing under a common banner? They are demanding the release of the five imprisoned individuals. Do they all really think that a pardon might apply also to incorrigible recidivists--destroyers of the public order, common criminals?

They say that they believe in the innocence of the five condemned individuals. Previously--yes, they had been punished, but in June of last year they were supposed to be behaving entirely irreproachably. My spokesman also seemed to share this opinion, so I asked him, on what basis? He believes it is so, for he spoke with the wife of the accused, Danuta Chomicka, and he read the speech made by the defense during the trial. He did not read the prosecutor's speech, however, he does not know the content of the indictment or the depositions of witnesses, he did not get to know the stand of the court passing sentence. What fools those ancients were with their principle of "let the other side also be heard."

There are in the text of the declaration many words about human dignity, rights, and freedom, and in this very statement the authors refer to their "predecessors" Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King in explaining their choice of forms of action. What a lack of modesty there is here, and what an excess of nerve!

Polish society is responding with a calm effort to another attempt at a pseudodemonstration, one which, let us add, did not bring its authors the hoped-for publicity. We have many serious matters to settle, we do not intend to avoid the many questions which the present day and our socialist development present. For we have at our disposal a great fund of collective wisdom, and we can afford to seek the most correct solutions from the standpoint of the national interest. But we can give the most valuable response only when the criticism concerning impediments to development is combined with an acceptance of the achievements of People's Poland and of the program of its socialist transformations.

8729

CSO: 2600

ANTI-DETENTE POSTURE OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 77 p 7

[Article by Janusz Slupecki: "Peking Against Detente"]

[Text] The period in which the world is living today is characterized by efforts on the part of nations to build permanent foundations of peace, in spite of many zigzags and reversals, in spite of the existence of ominous tensions. This does not mean that the advocates of resolving international conflicts by force have given up. It is simply the other way around, they are more and more active particularly today, using various slogans, they intensify their activities designed to poison the international atmosphere, to weaken the principles of peaceful coexistence, to frustrate efforts designed to slow down the armament race.

In addition to industrial-military complexes in leading capitalist states, groups of the extreme right, circles of revanchists and revisionists, and anticommunist circles striving to reverse the course of history, the leaders of the People's Republic of China are also undertaking activities of this nature in an unusually intensive way.

The present leadership, which took over the power in Peking after the death of Mao Tse-tung, after it had removed--in the course of the subsequent internal conflict--some of the previous Maoist leaders, not only continues the policy of directly threatening peace and socialism, but has made this policy more intensive. There is almost not a single day which does not bring from Peking ominous appeals calling for armament and war, for setting up military-political blocks against the USSR and other socialist countries, cynical declarations which distort facts freely and deny unceremoniously the essence and the meaning of the process of detente. Such appeals and declarations are made on any occasion: for example, in the speech of the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier Hua Kuo-feng at an industrial conference, in addresses made by Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien during their meeting with foreign guests or at press conferences of the vice minister for foreign affairs, Yu Chan.

And so, for example Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien called the detente and disarmament "opium of the mind" and wished the capitalist West "greater power

and unity" in its confrontation with socialist countries. On the other hand, Vice Minister Yu Chan warned politicians of Western Europe about "fallacious dreams about detente, behind which there lurk entirely different designs." He stated that Peking views with a large dose of skepticism those Western politicians who speak in favor of joint efforts of the countries of the West and of the East in favor of peace and detente, because "history gives proof of the fact that such speculations are misleading..., because it is a known fact that war is unavoidable."

Nor can one disregard in this respect the significant fact that the PRC leaders expound very broadly their views to representatives from capitalist countries, particularly those who represent the right wing and the reaction, who are in opposition to the governments in their own countries. It is also difficult not to notice that Vice Minister Yu Chan selected the West German Springer daily newspaper DIE WELT to outline fully the principles of the anti-detente, anti-Soviet policy of the PRC, based on war. In this way, the Peking leadership itself emphasizes which political circles it counts on most, with which it feels most closely allied, in which audience it has the greatest confidence, and where it expects the greatest understanding.

And so it is no wonder under the circumstances that the antisocialist campaign initiated by certain circles in the West prior to the Belgrade Conference was supported actively by Peking, where the most nonsensical statements originating from anticommunist environments are being repeated with enthusiasm worthy of a better cause.

These activities and declarations of Peking cannot be passed over in silence. Not only because their authors are the leaders of one of the largest states in the world, which is making territorial claims against its neighbors and has ambitions to rule over the world (Mao Tse-tung said in 1959 that "our goal is the entire globe, on which we shall create a powerful empire"). China--and this is the most serious thing--is today the only state on our globe, whose leaders officially make pronouncements in favor of war as the basic means of solving international problems and see in war the most effective way of carrying out their expansionist plans.

Intensive developments of the nuclear-rocket forces of the PRC, for which 40 percent of the expenditures of the state budget is allocated, represents one of the essential factors which makes it difficult to remove from mankind the burden of armaments and creates a threat to the peace and security of all nations.

Since the Peking anti-detente and anti-disarmament campaign lacks factual arguments, it is trying to undermine the creation of the foundations of the world of peace and international cooperation by using lies and slanders.

Their main purpose is to slander the USSR and its peaceful foreign policy and the relations of the Soviet Union with the fraternal socialist

countries. As was emphasized in the recent note of the USSR to the government of the PRC, the anti-Soviet psychosis fabricated in Peking serves exclusively those forces which would like to see China maintain hostile relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The present anti-Soviet propaganda in China--says the note--calculated to aggravate further the Soviet-Chinese relations and the entire international situation, poses a threat of dangerous consequences, and is contrary to the interests of the Chinese nation itself.

The anti-Soviet, antisocialist trend of the sharp edge of the policy and propaganda of the PRC leaders results primarily from the fact that the really constructive and consistent activities of the Soviet Union, Poland, and other countries of our community are effectively striving to create a climate of trust and to build a peaceful structure on earth. These activities are counter to the far-reaching, expansionist plans of Peking for a general thermonuclear conflict, plans which are related to stakes in war.

Precisely these calculations and assumptions determine the attitude of the leaders of the PRC with regard to the problems which are closest to us, European problems. They would like to negate the difficult but effective process which has paved the way for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and for the Final Act. This would mean nothing less and nothing more than a return of our continent to the years of the cold war. They would like to revive territorial conflicts in Europe and to instigate quarrels among nations which coexist peacefully or are normalizing their relations. They do not even waver in their desire to wipe off the European map the first German socialist state, the GDR. Finally, they encourage the intensification of the arms race on our continent. Such attempts are contrary to the vital interests of the Polish nation.

Peace is the goal of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of our earth. Poland, just like other socialist countries, is building its socialist future on peace. We reject definitely any attempts to oppose these aspirations, regardless of where such attempts are coming from. We reject Peking's appeals in favor of war and hatred among nations. We will continue to do everything in our power to make sure that just peace, detente, equally just and mutually beneficial cooperation will become the fate of all nations of the present as well as future generations of mankind.

As we have emphasized many times, we continue to be advocates of normalization and development of relations between Poland and China, of basing these relations on healthy foundations. This would not only be in harmony with the interests of the Polish nation, of the Chinese nation, but would also serve the cause of peace and international security, the cause of socialism.

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CSO: 2600

STRAFING PROCEDURES DESCRIBED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish
No 5, May 77 pp 17-23

[Article by Lt Col (Pilot) Eugeniusz Szul: "Combating Moving Ground Targets
by Air Force Attack Fighters and Fighter Bombers"]

[Text] Only systematic training leads to combat
expertise, to faultless identification and attack of a
small moving target that is of tactical and even
operational significance.

The function of the fighter bomber (attack fighter) air force is to attack
objects on land (on water) in accordance with the requirements of land
armies, other types of air forces, and the navy, either in collaboration
with them or independently. Objects attacked by fighter bombers (attack
fighters) of an air force are closely linked with the battlefield which
is characterized by:

- The use of mass attack weapons or the conduct of operations under condi-
tions in which their use is a constant threat;
- The dispersion of troops and equipment, and the extensive use of maneuvering;
- A high rate of operations;
- The widespread use of tactical and operational commandos;
- A rapidly changing scenario;
- The extensive use of radio and electronic equipment;
- Extensive antiaircraft defenses.

The dispersion of troops and equipment, the extensive use of maneuvering,
and the high rate of operations on a modern battlefield tend to increase the
number of objects in motion. The use of nuclear weapons contributes to
the increased significance of small, individual objects such as missile

launchers, artillery and other devices capable of delivering nuclear payloads. The widespread use of modern technology by armies also affects the significance of these devices. It means that the destruction of even one element can limit or even preclude the operational conduct of an entire unit. Of the objects extensively involved in close operational and tactical sections, and thus actions in which fighter bombers (attack fighters) participate, 70 to 80 percent of them are moving objects, of which at least one-half will be small objects. Thus follows the necessity of training flight personnel in combating small, moving objects.

To achieve good results in training pilots and improving their ability to combat moving land targets, attention should be paid to the following:

- Skill in recognizing and identifying a target;
- Executing a prompt attack;
- The direction and velocity of target shift.

Based on these elements, it is necessary to:

- Select the direction of attack, dive angle, target point, and method of targeting;
- Determine firing distance and elevation at which aircraft dive is initiated.

Before a pilot is trained to skillfully recognize and identify a target, he should become familiar with the organization and tactics of the enemy's operations. A thorough knowledge of an enemy's organization, especially the precise identification of a detected target, can lead to a primary, more important target. The pilot should know the characteristics of the terrain and its possible use by the enemy to camouflage combat operations. A knowledge of features that reveal activities of moving targets also plays an important role.

Under these conditions, the execution of a prompt attack is dictated by the fact that moving targets can take advantage of terrain conditions to completely camouflage themselves in the time it takes an aircraft to make an additional maneuver. In addition, the use of surprise decreases the defense capabilities of the object under attack.

Properly determining the direction and velocity of target shift has important bearing on properly selecting the remaining elements and, as a result, on the final result of the attack.

The contour of the terrain, the character of the target and its susceptibility to firing action, the antiaircraft defense system [OPL], and the components

of the group and types of attack weapons used significantly affect the direction of attack. In attacking moving point targets, it is first necessary to use an aircraft's artillery armament. For armored targets, other appropriate attack weapons should be used, and the direction of attack should be such that the angle at which the projectile hits the target should be the most effective. In using small-caliber rocket missiles against a medium tank, firing can be done from any direction except from the front portion in the sector about 120 deg where the armor thickness exceeds 140 mm. Thus, projectiles of this caliber can be ineffective, all the more so since at the present time armor with air-gaps are used. In selecting the direction of attack, the pilot should rely on completed calculations concerning means of attack and firing conditions such that the detected object does not have an opportunity to take cover during the time it takes to maneuver and attack.

The extent of the dive angle has a significant effect on firing results, especially with regard to moving targets. In most cases, moving targets are point objects that require an immense concentration of projectile bombardment. Such a condition can be achieved with light field guns and guided missiles fired at medium dive angles. Dive angles are classified as follows:

Small dive angles--up to 15 degrees;

Medium dive angles--15 to 45 degrees;

Large dive angles--greater than 45 degrees;

Verticle dive angles--85 to 90 degrees.

For attack fighter aircraft which operate in an environment of heavy enemy antiaircraft fire, small dive angles would be the most effective. They enable a clandestine approach to the target, they permit the enemy to be taken by surprise, and they allow the mission to be executed under low cloud cover conditions. However, there are a number of negative factors such as: difficulty of detecting small objects, extensive dispersion, and small probability of a hit. These factors do not favor the destruction of small targets, especially moving ones. Taking into consideration the characteristics of moving targets, and the positive and negative factors of the dive angle--especially dispersion and probability of a hit), to combat moving targets it would be most effective to use medium dive angles.

Table I. Examples of approximate values of elevations at which the fighter bomber (attack fighter) dive is initiated. Data are for dive angles of 10 and 20 degrees, aircraft velocity of 700 km/h at initiation of dive, and a load factor of not less than 1.5 at termination of dive depending on aircraft diving time (t_n) and elevation at which the dive is terminated.

(1) Wysokość wyprowadzenia (m)	(2) Wysokość wprowadzenia (m)					
	(3) Kąt nurkowania 10°			(4) Kąt nurkowania 20°		
	$t_n = 4s$	$t_n = 6s$	$t_n = 8s$	$t_n = 4s$	$t_n = 6s$	$t_n = 8s$
100	360	420	500	700	840	1060
200	460	520	600	800	940	1160
300	560	620	700	900	1040	1260
400	660	720	800	1000	1140	1360
500	760	820	900	1100	1240	1460

Key:

1. Elevation at which dive is terminated, in meters
2. Elevation at which dive is initiated, in meters
3. 10 degree dive angle
4. 20 degree dive angle

The above table indicates that for identical aircraft operating conditions, increasing the dive angle by 10 degrees (from 10 to 20 degrees) almost doubles the elevation required by the aircraft at which the dive is initiated. The type of attack weapon used and the diving time also affect this elevation. When selecting a dive angle, the angle at which the projectile hits the target should be taken into consideration; to maximize the effect of the attack, it should be not less than 30 degrees. The above factors should be considered at the time the decision is being made and the crew is tasked with destroying land-based moving targets.

Theoretical calculations indicate that at medium dive angles it becomes possible to fire at small moving targets (and also concealed targets) when the elevation of the lowest cloud layer is 800-3,000 m and the dive angles are 15 to 45 degrees. The elevation at which the dive is initiated then falls between 800-2,500 m, which simplifies target search and recognition.

At medium dive angles, projectile dispersion is markedly less; this is especially so for longitudinal dispersion, which, relative to transverse dispersion, is 6:1 for small dive angles and 1.5:1 for medium dive angles.

Despite the necessity of increasing the elevation at which the dive angles is initiated and exposing the aircraft to enemy antiaircraft fire, smaller dispersion and greater probability of a hit make it possible to achieve the necessary fire density to attack the target more effectively.

Atmospheric conditions, especially visibility and elevation of the lower cloud layer, limit the execution of an attack at medium dive angles. This is explained by the fact that in increasing the required elevation at which the dive is initiated the available elevation (the elevation of the lowest cloud layer) can be exceeded. In association with this, the distance at which firing begins increases. If the elevation of the lower cloud layer does not permit an attack at medium dive angles, then the attack must be executed at small dive angles with the knowledge that the final results of the attack can be significantly worse.

One of the fundamental factors affecting the probability of a target hit is firing distance. To increase the probability of a hit, it is necessary to fire over the shortest distance possible. This principle can be applied to a designated distance which represents a certain limited amount dictated by safety conditions. To determine the shortest firing distance, we can make use of the diagram depicting this element in the vertical plane. It depicts the basic elements, the knowledge of which is essential to evaluate conditions for using an aircraft's missiles and artillery.

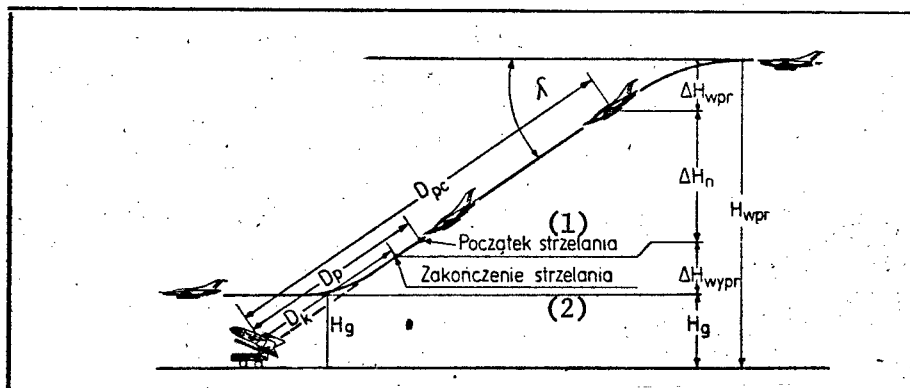


Figure 1. Diagram for firing at land-based targets

Key:

1. Initiation of firing
2. Termination of firing

From Fig. 1, the average firing distance can be determined from the formula:

$$D_{sr} = \frac{D_k + D_p}{2}$$

where:

D_k = distance at which firing is terminated,

D_p = distance at which firing is initiated.

D_k and D_p are calculated by means of the formulas:

$$D_k = \frac{H_g + \Delta H_{wypr}}{\sin \lambda}$$

$$D_p = D_k + V_{lsr} t_{po}$$

Where:

H_g = minimum necessary elevation at which dive is terminated in order to avoid crashing the aircraft into the ground and to protect it from damage from fragments of the exploding missile,

ΔH_{wypr} = elevation loss during the time it takes to terminate the dive

V_{lsr} = average aircraft velocity during firing time,

t_{po} = firing time,

λ = dive angle.

To determine firing time (t_{po}), the types of armaments used must be taken into account. For small targets, especially moving ones, firing should be executed in short bursts. The average aircraft velocity while firing can be defined as the arithmetic mean of the aircraft velocities at the moment the dive is initiated (V_p) and the moment the dive is terminated (V_k).

To avoid complicated calculations in determining the distance at which firing is terminated, one should make use of prepared values of ΔH_{wypr} and ΔH_{wpr} contained in instructions (in the form of tables or charts).

The value of the H_g elevation is determined on the basis of flight safety considerations of the attacking aircraft.

The H_g elevation that will prevent the aircraft from crashing into the ground or being hit by fragments depends on the aircraft's flight conditions, dive angle, degree of flight personnel preparation, types of attack weapons used, and the contour of the terrain in the direction of the flight when the attack is terminated and the aircraft departs from the target. During an attack on a moving target, if the pilot becomes absorbed in the pursuit of the target and does not take into account any one of the elements, then the attack can terminate in unexpected tragedy.

The elevation at which the dive is initiated has an important bearing on the remaining elements of the attack operation and, at the same time, on the final results. It should be such that there is sufficient dive time to execute proper target sighting and firing; this is especially so when combating point and moving targets.

The elevation at which the aircraft dive commences is determined from the formula:

$$H_{wpr} = \Delta H_{wpr} + \Delta H_n + \Delta H_{wypr} + H_g$$

where:

ΔH_{wpr} = elevation loss during aircraft dive initiation time,

ΔH_n = elevation loss during dive time.

H_n is calculated from the formula:

$$\Delta H_n = V_{lsr} t_n$$

where:

t_n = dive time. It is the time required for target sighting and firing.

Conditions for executing an attack will improve if the elevation at which the aircraft initiates its dive is increased, even though conditions for executing the antiaircraft defenses of the land-based object under attack become more favorable. The elevation at which the aircraft dive is initiated can be decreased significantly as the pilot adequately masters the target sighting technique and firing process, and minimizes sighting and firing times. This attack element should be mastered, especially by fighter bomber pilots.

In most cases the dive-initiation elevation that can be achieved will depend on the lower cloud level and the target's antiaircraft defense characteristics. The pilot should know how to assess the situation correctly and properly execute the remaining attack elements.

We call the targeting point that designated spot on the target (near by the target) with which the center of the grid of the target sighting device is aligned during firing. The location of the targeting point relative to target center depends on:

- Layout of the target's susceptible areas;
- Wind direction and velocity;
- Velocity and direction of target movement;
- Firing distance;
- Type of target sighting device used and attack weapons possessed by the aircraft.

When sighting with the aid of semiautomatic or automatic target sighting devices, all corrections are automatically taken into account. All the pilot has to do is to align the grid center of the target sighting device with the selected point on the target. When firing at small targets, the targeting point should be the geometric center of the target. If the target is many times larger than the largest division on the scale of the base of the target sighting device, then the targeting point should be the most susceptible target element.

When sighting from ordinary collimator sighting devices an immobile target under no-wind conditions and at distances over which the weapons are aimed, the target point should be located on a susceptible part of the target. Under windy conditions, the deviation of the projectiles from the targeting point, which results from the wind (projectile deflection caused by the wind), should be taken into account.

The extent of the deflection is determined from the formula:

$$L_w = Ut$$

where:

L_w - linear deflection in meters,

U = wind velocity in m/s,

t = projectile flight time to the target in seconds.

To take wind velocity into account during firing, the grid center of the sighting device should be moved in a direction opposite to the wind direction by an amount equal to the linear deflection. In practice, the correction for projectile deflection is taken into account only when wind velocity exceeds 2 m/s.

To calculate wind velocity correction, the approximate flight time of the projectile for the distance at which firing is conducted must be taken into account. Wind velocity correction is expressed in terms of target scale; that dimension of the target is used which lies in the plane of the wind.

When firing at a moving target, the target shift during projectile flight time should be taken into account. The extent of this linear outstripping distance is defined according to the formula:

$$L = V_c t$$

where: L = linear outstripping distance (in meters) taking into account target velocity,

V_c = target velocity in m/s.

To take target velocity into account during firing, the targeting point should be located in front of the target in the direction of its movement by an amount equal to the linear outstripping distance as expressed in target scale.

When firing at a target under windy conditions, corrections for target and wind velocities should be considered. For head winds (relative to direction of target movement), the correction is added, for tail winds the correction is subtracted, and for lateral winds the resultant is taken. For the latter case, correction for target velocity is expressed in terms of the width scale of the target, and correction for wind velocity is expressed in terms of the length scale of the target independent of the direction of attack.

Table 2. Approximate shift velocities for some land-based targets.

(1) Cel	(2) Prędkość			
	(3) po szosie		(4) po drodze polne	
	km/h	m/s	km/h	m/s
Kolumna piechoty (5)	5	1,4	4	1,1
Artyleria ciagniona (6)	30	8,3	12	3,3
Czołgi lekkie (7)	40	11,1	30	8,3
Czołgi średnie i artyleria samobieżna (8)	30	8,3	20	5,6
Samochody i transportery (9) opancerzone	40	11,1	30	8,3
Transport kolejowy (10)	(11) 40 km/h lub 11 m/s			

Key:

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Target | 5. Infantry column | 9. Armored vehicles and transports |
| 2. Velocity | 6. Towed artillery | 10. Railroad trains |
| 3. Over roads | 7. Light tanks | 11. 40 km/h or 11 m/s propelled artillery |
| 4. Over field roads | 8. Medium tanks and self- | |

Corrections are not required if target velocity does not exceed 15 km/h. The aircraft's rocket-artillery weapons are aimed in the vertical plane for a certain distance D_1 , depending on type of aircraft and weapons. Thus, at this distance occurs the intersection of the average trajectory of the missiles with the axis of the target sighting device while firing at the ground. When firing in the air owing to the aircraft's own velocity and dive angle, the intersection of the average trajectory of the missiles with the axis of the sighting device occurs at a somewhat larger distance.

For firing times at distances less than or greater than D_1 , the projectiles will either undershoot or overshoot, which means that they will fall short of or beyond the targeting point in the dive plane. This is of vital significance when firing at point objects. The extent of the undershoot or overshoot depends on firing distance, type of aircraft, type of weapons used, and size of dive angle.

The proper designation of firing distance and true selection of targeting point have a decisive effect on the end result of the attack, especially when firing at moving targets.

On the basis of theoretical considerations and personal experiences in the training of light personnel, the following conclusions have been reached:

1. Land-based targets are battlefield objects having special characteristics and require that the pilot have good theoretical and tactical training and be highly skilled in practical operations;
2. The character of the modern battlefield requires the training of fighter bomber and attack fighter flight personnel in combating land-based moving targets;
3. Land-based moving targets can conduct combat operations on an individual basis or in a designated formation. Individual actions as well as some formations can hinder the execution of maneuvers and the realization of an attack by grouped aircrafts. Small groups of aircraft or individual aircrafts can battle them successfully or use proper maneuvers which will permit the execution of individual attacks without breaking up the group;
4. Pilots who have experience in battling small, stationary, land-based targets can be trained to battle moving, land-based targets;
5. To achieve the best training results and to maintain flight safety, moving targets should be made available at the firing ranges. The targets should be life-size and be capable of moving at various velocities. The targets should be resistant to destruction and damage that would preclude their further use;
6. To avoid interruptions in training on the firing ranges, there should be at least two targets, which would assure continuity of training (in case one of the targets is damaged).

ROMANIA

POPOVICI DEPLORES LACK OF RESPONSIBLE LITERARY CRITICISM

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 77 pp 4, 5

[Speech of Titus Popovici at the 29 June Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party]

[Text] Being in complete agreement with the documents presented to the plenum today and regretting that I cannot dwell upon one of the most brilliant and eloquent examples of the essential humanism of contemporary Romanian society--re-education through work in the midst of and under the supervision of workers--I will refer to the resolution on increasing the role and responsibility of party and state, mass and public organizations, unions of creativity, etc., in the activity of informing and educating workers.

This resolution makes a response which is historically necessary and objectively necessary to one of the most complicated problems with which socialist society has been confronted over the decades, a subject about which there has been and still are the most fiery polemics, one which has caused--to a lesser extent in Romania, it is true--real dramas, one which has been used and is used every day as a bludgeon-argument against socialism--freedom of creation.

The contemporary world knows an infinity of forms of censorship, an effort of capitalist society to restrain the aspiration of the masses for socialism, for complete dignity and freedom. The censorship of the ruling class, of class and caste interests, of groups with motives which are sometimes divergent is exercised--reality obliges us to recognize this fact--in varied and extremely subtle forms, the most important being the attempt to present the norms of bourgeois-type freedom as unique, eternal, perfect, immutable norms and the same for liberal bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois concept of "human rights," evolving out of the system of free competition, that is, out of the "right" of some to sell the labor force as profitably as possible and the "right" of others to buy it as profitably as possible.

An entire complex superstructure, often very intelligent, varied, flexible, empirical, and efficient, is attempting to confer on contemporary capitalism

the aura of "the best possible world": this is also reflected in the social norms which govern the contradictory development of art and culture.

On the other hand, the titanic work of building a new world--in general, under conditions of economic and cultural backwardness, stated in one of the first decrees of Lenin (alongside those about peace and the land) on freedom of cultural-artistic creation--has known Stalinist distortion, with the entire train of deviations from the true nature of socialism. This proved to be a serious hindrance in culture by ignoring the specific nature of art, by reducing it to a simple docile illustration of these divorced from life, by emptying it of its revolutionary content, that is, of the search for the new and its affirmation, by disregarding the specific manner in which art educates the spirit, not didactically, not by offering things already chewed, but by being, in the first place, on occasion for meditation on the human condition, especially when men become masters of their own condition.

Certainly, things are much more complicated but I am obliged to simplify and to schematize. In any case, in the face of such sterilizing rigidity it is no wonder that the apparent freedom and democracy of the bourgeois type (I am referring to the field of art and culture) sometimes might have appeared more attractive to wavering consciences, to superficial and ignorant minds. Just like any mirage which is kept up well.

The document which we are discussing today is a part of the irreversible process of building the socialist democracy, which the country has known since the 9th Congress, from the moment in which the man for whom freedom, in its greater sense, was and is the supreme goal headed the party and the state, from the moment in which the Marxist axiom according to which man is consciously creating his own history has become and is becoming a reality in this country. We realize--and Comrade Ceausescu has stressed this more than once--that it is a question of a process of long duration, by no means simple, which will upset many convenient arrangements and habits, which obliges and will oblige more and more people to think, to seek, to act, and, especially, to openly assume responsibility, without which liberty is just an empty word.

One of the fundamental problems of this agitated age, in which men are formed, molded, and influenced by the multitude of means of information, used like any superstructure in the interest of the class in power, is the relationship between authority and freedom. Authority which is not transformed into dictatorship, freedom which does not become anarchy. Nowhere is this relationship more sensitive than in the field of art. By his very nature, the creator assumes more lives; he must understand even what he condemns. Otherwise, his work is transformed into a pamphlet and it loses its superior objectivity--which is reality itself--specific to great creations in which the truth of life does not emerge from affirmations but from a thorough and multilateral knowledge, from the internal dialectic of the work of art.

Today, our party asserts with boldness and confidence, in the field of art, the general truth of socialist democracy which lies in the direct involvement of the masses building the material and spiritual values of a superior culture. Now, the building of a culture to which we aspire depends directly upon us. I realize that it will not be easy.

It is no secret that there are operating in our literary world group interests, unprincipled relations, influence games, in which those whose mouths are most active produce the least with their pens. There are still attempts to obtain privileged arrangements and, with a certain regret, I must say that such a mentality (in which what is owed to you has preference over what you owe) finds a certain audience, especially in the ranks of some younger colleagues, who have not yet learned how to discern among the "noble" phrases the hollow sound of the petty interest of some people, who indeed are few in number.

The problem of the future is to what extent the true Communist writers will know how to uphold their points of view, to defend their concepts, and to impose them by strength of arguments and persuasion. The practical application of this resolution--the supreme standard--will show to what extent we are capable of responding by deeds to the complete confidence which the party has placed in us.

Have art and literature ever been anything other than a battle field, a field for the clashing of opinions, concepts, mentalities, and views of the world? We have said many times: the greatest achievement of the revolution in the field of creativity is the idea of the responsibility openly assumed toward society. Now, this idea takes on a concrete character and innovative structures. It is up to us to make them supple, stimulative and creative, so that they are not transformed into a bureaucratic mechanism, a social expression of the flight from responsibility and of convenience which constantly needs to be covered up. It is very important that these commissions which will participate directly in the process of publishing works be composed of people who can really participate, who have a calling, who do it out of passion, with skill and delicacy. Otherwise, formalism, the older defect, might reappear. Since any measure, no matter how revolutionary it might be, loses its power of stimulation if it is confined only to forms, to the carrying out of ritual, just as, formerly, some people went to church not because they were exceedingly bigoted but if they did not go, "good society" would not have regarded them well.

Also, I have in mind the operational, dynamic, and necessary character, thinking about the propensity of some of my colleagues (the same ones whose work is weak) to discuss ad infinitum in the old spirit of the Balkan coffeehouse, the house of indolence, where more than a few things of value have been wasted. To discuss ad infinitum to the detriment of effective participation in the tumultuous life of the country, where all human achievements are produced and towards which their artistic reflection should be turned.

It is a question, especially, of educating the higher artistic taste and, in my opinion, the weakest and most inadmissably anemic sector of our artistic life is the sector of criticism. A criticism which does everything but criticize! The causes are many and they have their history. I will not dwell on this aspect. But it seems strange that practically no literary review is headed by a noted critic. But I would like to see a critic who would dare to have objections or reservations regarding the work of the chief editor, poet, prose writers or dramatist. This situation is all the more difficult to understand since our great classical literature was formed around brilliant critical spirits--Titu Maiorescu and his ideological adversary Gherea, Ibraileanu and his opponent Lovinescu. For years, we have been witnessing, with rare exceptions, the involution of the objective, scientific critical spirit, its replacement with apologetics or rather, with abundant flattery, on the basis of group considerations. Analysis has been absent in order to make room for admiration without reserve. Over the years, anyone who was curious enough to study this phenomenon could fall off his chair seeing how some obvious nobodies, in a deafening exchange of tumult, were compared with the great writers of the universe, before they disappeared into oblivion or left to do damage to us in various foreign workshops [oficine].

I would not like to give any examples but, nevertheless, a recent example seems to me to be absolutely necessary. The novel Good News (Buna Vestire) by N. Breban has been published. Some of you probably remember the author since because of an error, for which I consider myself to be partially responsible, he was a member of the Central Committee for a time. I want to be clearly understood so therefore I stress: I am not saying that this book should not have been published. I would say this particularly grave thing only about those productions which propagate fascism, hatred and disrespect for man, animal violence, and pornography. But the manner in which this novel appeared constitutes, in my opinion--and I say this openly, with full responsibility--a serious error of a political nature. Rejected by the Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House (director Marin Preda), rejected by the Eminescu Publishing House (director Valeriu RapEANu), after numerous discussions during which the author proved to be unyielding and attempted to transmit the book clandestinely across the border, the novel was unexpectedly published by the Junimea Publishing House in Iasi, in a unjustifiably large number of copies, for reasons which I openly call conjunctural (and which do not characterize our cultural policy), reasons which, possibly, I can understand, but which I cannot approve! I do not approve of them because what can young writers in a hurry understand from such "exceptions" from norms obligatory for all others, that they can be published at any cost? They "understand", and I heard enough of them saying it, that if you make a lot of noise, if "you become a case", if you get various foreign newspapers or radio stations interested in you, it goes along well and you begin to be treated like an exception. And then the writers, Central Committee members or not, in general, those who uphold the concepts and positions of the party in art, begin to be considered as "conformists", "opportunists", "antiquated", "outmoded", and Breban and

Goma become the heroes! And it would be very undesirable for them to become models. Could not this book have been subjected to serious, principled discussion? Are there not writers invested with the high responsibility of being members of the Central Committee who could be consulted, whose opinion could be asked? Personally, I doubt whether the author's views could be changed from one day to another but, anyway, the novel could be improved and cleansed of the slag with which it abounds.

Good News is the novel of an author over whom the life of struggle, sacrifices, work, self-sacrifice, and even of the errors of these decades has passed like water over a duck's feathers. The book of an author whose eye (not devoid of a certain acuity) retains predominantly the ugly, the trivial, the obscure, and the base, things such as sickness and death which also belong to reality. But to retain only this means, speaking with indulgence, a serious deficiency in his view of the world. It is the book of an author who is a declared supporter of the philosophy of Nietzsche, quite poorly digested, according to which mankind is divided into the elect who are fated to be masters, since they are beyond good and evil, and the herd of those intended to be dominated, subjected. A book in which the Romanian language is painfully mistreated, which abounds with scenes of cheap eroticism, to the limits and sometimes beyond the limits of obscenity.

Well, comrades, in my life I have never read such a far-fetched apology--I am weighing my words very well--in which a critic--the same one who offhandedly included in an anthology of poetry all the Iron Guard poets, headed by Radu Gyr--asserts that it is the most significant book since 23 August. I am not surprised at this from ROMANIA LITERARA which has been going adrift like Noah's ark but I am surprised at CONVORBIRI LITERARE of Iasi, the continuer of the famous critical spirit of JUNIMEA, which found such festive words as would be used for the Union of the Principalities! And I am very surprised that so far no one, no Marxist critic, and we have several serious ones--but their erudition is brilliantly exercised only in regard to Thomas Mann, Joyce, and Kafka--has been found to put this novel in its true context, pointing out its possible merits and also the more than evident limitations and confusions.

If the Marxist essayists, philosophers, and critics are silent and take refuge in academic discussions, then it is natural that only the Voice of others, such as Negoitescu, for example, will resound! So that the uninitiated reader--not to mention the one in formation--could deduce that it is a question of unanimous recognition and of general appreciation and that the novel of our times has as its essential characteristic rummaging through dustbins for distorted aspects of human nature. Yes, we will still have disputes about this! They are necessary for clarification. Here, in the fire of the struggle of ideas, in the concrete atmosphere of the proceedings, there will be manifested, I am sure, the strength of the Communist concept of the world which most and the best contemporary writers have assimilated and are constantly assimilating, but which--why not say it since I, myself, am guilty of the same mistake--often they are afraid to affirm openly, in

a combative, principled, and reasoned manner, with civilized means of expression, so they will not be accused of dogmatism and narrowness of views. By whom? By Madame Monica Lovinescu? By Virgil Untaru, called Ierunca, or by some pseudo-literati, who have retired ahead of time because of a disability which makes them lazy or unable to create any more? The implementation of these resolutions will contribute to breaking the narrow, sterile, and sterilizing circle, which still manifests itself in our cultural life by infusing life, combativity, and responsibility which the beneficiaries of the culture will bring.

I will close by stating before you, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, and before the plenum of the Central Committee, a personal confession, although this is not customary for me and it is rather hard for me to do. For a long time, for too many years, I have been working on a novel which should be an epic of collectivization. Besides the concern for this great theme, the feeling of responsibility in the reflection of such a dramatic period as the transformation of the most traditional class, and the moments of discouragement, doubt, and failure, I would not be sincere toward my party if I did not acknowledge a certain laziness, a certain indolence (which I condemn in others), a tendency to take refuge in easier genres, with more facile and more rapid successes, such as the films. My response to this resolution in which I see the firm guarantee of the opening of great prospects and of creative searchings and agitations, in which I see the Communist spirit, opened toward the new, unreconcilable enemy of stagnation and indolence, of timorousness, a passionate and also scientific search for the ways toward the maximum prospering of the human personality and unlimited confidence in the creative power of free man--characteristics which the secretary general of the party impresses untiringly on our entire material and intellectual life--my response as a Communist writer will be, in the future, this book. And others.

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

WORK OF POLICE ANTITERRORIST UNIT SKETCHED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 77 pp 12-13

[Article by Misa Mustapic: "Armored Police Forded the River"]

[Text] Strong automatic fire could be heard from the brush on one side of the river. No further advance was possible. They radioed for help. Armored amphibious vehicles soon appeared. The fording of the river began. The floating armored vehicles quickly silenced those on the other side from the water with precise firing from its machineguns and cannons. The advance continued....

There was nothing so unusual about all this, since it is a scene observed in almost every military exercise, had the armored vehicles not been painted blue and the personnel dressed in blue uniforms, wearing blue helmets. On the sides of the armored vehicles, below the crest of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], was the word POLICE in large white letters.

This was an exercise ... a routine exercise.... But the unit is specialized. Special. It was "fighting" a sizable group of infiltrated terrorists and saboteurs near the Vardar. It was the second day of the "fight" that the special armored vehicles joined in. A few days earlier the natives of that region had discovered the unwelcome group, and then followed mobilization, then encirclement and isolation with almost improbable speed....

The "enemy's" every step was observed. Then the special unit was given the mission of destroying the enemy.

During the operations the unit discovered an explosive charge that had been placed under a bridge (the sabotage was not successful--it was discovered in time), the size of the infiltrated group was precisely determined, their movement was followed at night and in the fog, and the amount and types of their weapons and equipment were discovered....

How?--many will wonder--and who in fact are the members of this and similar units which exist in every city and every republic?

Actually we are unable to write anything about what they do, or hardly anything at all. After all, their tasks are altogether specific, and that is the first word in their title. These are the special police units of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Their task is briefly this: the security of our self-managed community. Nor do they like to talk a great deal about their special tasks (even to reporters from FRONT, who received a special permit for this occasion). We saw them on their exercise grounds, difficult and inaccessible, far from the curious eyes of any wayfarer, and we saw them in everyday training on routine tasks which they perform successfully every day. We spent two full working days with them. The commander in his office was surrounded by men you would almost call lads, but then again there was something too serious in the expression of their faces. At times it seemed they went too far in that seriousness....

Ilija Knezevic, Milan Kovacic, Zoran Mihajlovic, Zvonko Valentic, Momcilo Stosic, Jusuf Jusic, Miodrag Jokic.... Crew leaders, young armored vehicle officers. Specialists in various fields ... electronics, radar, engineering, atomic, biological and chemical warfare, specialists in all types of explosives, sniper experts.... Who can count their many fields of proficiency? Their average age barely exceeds 25. They are even reluctant to tell their names. They are known by all sorts of nicknames which we heard during those 2 days, and which perhaps will no longer be used next month. And they did not even want to tell us about their last exercise, which was very successful and extensive. With the help of commander Dusan Djurovic they loosened up. There was Trajce from Macedonia and his section of specialists in explosives and time bombs. Vahid from Bosnia with his comrades knows how to drive almost everything from a bicycle to an airplane (specialists in motors and machines). Janez from Slovenia and his group in Squad F are specialists in communications, Tonci and his "frogmen" are unbeatable underwater or Lala from Vojvodina and his "detachment" are infallible marksmen used against snipers.... When you get to know them better, they seem modest and not at all striking, all of them seem like the kind of young men you usually meet in the bus, at a dance, or even on some official occasion. Young, superb athletes, all of them having won a belt in sports like karate, judo, jujitsu or other arts of hand-to-hand combat, alongside their equally skilled instructor, Professor Bosko Rudic. Certainly they are also good skiers and swimmers, so that there are hardly any obstacles which they cannot overcome. At this moment some of them, still in training, are on one of our inaccessible mountains. These are the mountain climbers. We saw them performing a tactical assignment. The name of the training exercise was "Combat Actions of the Police Under Wartime Conditions." It was like watching a well-directed adventure film. Precision, synchronization, and mastery of the terrain are only some of the features and components of their exercises. The factor of surprise is particularly important. It is jokingly said of them that they have a sixth sense, since in their last exercise they were able to find and "smell out" even the most cleverly camouflaged "saboteurs" and put them out of action. We read a passage from the report on that action: "... in the exercise the Red and Blue (the saboteurs) policemen became so caught up in the situation that their encounters with the captured 'saboteurs' gave no hint whatsoever that these 'saboteurs' were their comrades...."

This exercise showed that the members of the special police have the most modern weapons and also that they have up-to-date rear support, and that they are therefore capable of independent performance of a mission even under the most difficult conditions.

"In addition to automatic and semiautomatic weapons," commander Djurovic told us, "the unit is completely motorized, and it even has a considerable number of armored motor vehicles, artillery guns for support and antiarmor combat, special armament and equipment, and sharpshooters.... We have the most up-to-date devices for observation and firing at night, electronic devices for detection of human beings, for identification of explosives and poisonous devices and materials, and...."

This is briefly the "identity card" of this quite young organizational unit, all there is that can be known.

We moved from M. to another exercise ground. Here the exercise was to find a trail. Slobodan Pantic and Radisav Bogicevic and their bloodhounds took gullies and foxholes in their stride in finding the dugouts of one or more "terrorists." The dog Johnny found an "infiltrator" under large piles of branches and leaves, in a deep dugout. The dog and his escort had the task: discover concealed and camouflaged [infiltrators], discover...?

Down below, on a training ground with a water obstacle, crew leader Dragomir Glamocanin and his crew were fording a "river" with their amphibious vehicles. There was a target range on the other shore. Not only were they moving underwater, but it was also choppy. Novica Jukic hit his target. Live ammunition. This time the target was moving. An old automobile, a bunker, a "group being infiltrated," for Novica from Kosovo it doesn't matter, he almost never misses....

Regular training on motorcycles began at "twelve." Momcilo Stosic is the best on the heavy metal "bikes." The terrain is the kind you might find on the most difficult track for a cross-country race.

The radio is always turned on in the Beerdem crawler vehicle in which the command post is located.

"Cobra 2 ... come in.... This is Eagle 5 ..." the reports are constantly coming in from the field.

On the second floor young communists are going over a topic in their Marxist education (95 percent of the group's members are members of the League of Communists). On the fourth floor there is a meeting of secretaries of activist groups of the Socialist Youth Alliance.

Milorad Petakovic, Ivan Markovic, Gavro Maksimovic ... are working out the plan for the most recent youth action on area O.

On the ground floor, in the gymnasium, the unit's team is preparing for the upcoming competition of federal agencies in the arts of hand-to-hand combat, the so-called "police olympics." Next to them are the table tennis players and chess players. They also will have decisive battles at the "police olympics."

In the commander's office Cobra 9 comes in over the audiomonitor. A report follows. The commander takes up the microphone.

"This is Cobra ..." the commander says, "you can go off duty."

The small hand on the clock shows that it is after 2300 hours.

But they are still awake....

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 12, bottom Mission: before setting off to surround the "enemy," the armored vehicle commanders in the special section plot the routes they are to take.
2. p 12, top Armored police: they are able to overcome water obstacles and every sort of terrain, to fire and observe under nighttime conditions, in the fog, and even to "feel out" an infiltrated "enemy" and to break any resistance....
3. p 13, top An entire unit on wheels: for them there are no bad roads, they are as skilled as the best racing drivers with cross-country motorcycles.
4. p 13, bottom Bloodhounds: the unit also has dogs trained to quickly and easily discover dugouts, foxholes and other places where the "enemy" might be.
5. p 13, right Two, three or five on one: the psychophysical preparation of the members of this unit is very high; every one of its members has a yellow, green, brown or black belt from karate or some other art of hand-to-hand combat.

7045

CSO: 2800

CONCEALMENT OF SABOTAGE MATERIALS ON OCCUPIED TERRITORY

Belgrade VOJNI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Mar-Apr 77 pp 58-63

[Article by Lt Col Vojislav Seckovic: "Concealment and Covert Movement of Sabotage Materials on Occupied Territory"]

[Text] In a nationwide defensive war sabotage will be organized everywhere where enemy forces, materiel and facilities are located, primarily on occupied territory. Because of the specific nature of the conditions under which life is lived and combat action is conducted on occupied territory, the concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials have an important role and great importance.

This article will discuss certain of the conditions under which sabotage operations will be carried out and the possibilities for and manners of concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials.

Conditions for Carrying Out Sabotage on Occupied Territory

On occupied territory the enemy will use very harsh measures and actions, calling not only on regular military units, but also on the police force, special units with specialized training and equipment, and collaborators. The most common actions and measures which the enemy will take will be to establish a curfew, to restrict and prohibit public and private transportation, personal searches, searches of specific areas and structures, seizure and arrest of all suspicious persons, raids, efforts to prevent secret meetings, registration--the keeping of records on all citizens, checkpoints and examination of personal papers, barriers, patrols, censorship of the press and of the mail, control over production (storage, transportation and sale) of all materials (especially arms and military equipment), demolition of housing in certain areas, eavesdropping with modern electronic and other equipment, use of goniometry to detect covert radio stations, partial or complete evacuation of the population from certain areas (zones), etc. It is also realistic to expect various types of mistreatment of the population, strong psychological pressure exerted with diverse means and methods, and then blackmail, deceptions and the like.

Part and parcel of these and other measures will be counterintelligence efforts and actions, aerial search and observation, use of various types of herbicides and defoliants to destroy vegetation, especially to prevent the population in certain areas from obtaining food or to achieve better visibility and an unobstructed view.

To provide for the immediate protection of his forces on occupied territory, especially commands (staffs), rear units and institutions, and also the more important infrastructural facilities, and to prevent sabotage, the enemy will secure them with strong forces. In addition, he will use various types of obstacles (fortifications, mines and booby traps, and incendiary and chemical obstacles); use of various technical equipment will be commonplace: for example, infrared systems to cover thoroughfares and other passages and to record violations of protected areas, radar devices for line and space control, sensor systems for various purposes and operating on various principles (optic, acoustic, magnetic, thermal, seismic, olfactory--reacting to smells, etc.), stationary and mobile equipment for illuminating certain routes and areas, etc.

The lessons of World War II, the war in Vietnam, and Angola, Cambodia, Korea, and the Near East indicate that an aggressor will not stop short of even the most heinous atrocities to break the resistance of the population and to establish his authority on occupied territory. Given these conditions, which may be considerably worse as new means of waging war make their appearance, the concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials will be no mere need, but an absolute necessity if the continuity of armed combat is to be maintained in the face of even the most rigorous use of force.

Concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials on occupied territory are relevant in the following cases:

- i. when the enemy might detect and seize them;
- ii. when it has been impossible for certain quantities of sabotage materials to be transported or carried when a portion of the territory was abandoned;
- iii. when certain quantities of enemy weapons, equipment and materiel have been captured and cannot be used for a certain time;
- iv. when sabotage operations are being organized and carried out, and
- v. when stockpiles are being created for whatever reason.

Elements Which Affect Success in Concealment and Covert Movement of Sabotage Materials

If one is to achieve maximum success in the concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials, it is indispensable that he be familiar with the methods and means which the enemy will use to detect them. He must bear in

mind that the enemy possesses up-to-date detectors for discovering weapons even when they are buried to a depth of 1 m, and then stethoscopes for detecting openings in walls (niches, recesses), detectors for discovering explosives which operate by detecting vapors from the explosives, x-ray equipment used to detect certain articles in closed packages (crates, suitcases, parcels, bundles, knapsacks, etc.) as well as various mechanical devices used in conducting searches. The searches will be far-reaching and detailed, particularly in areas where the enemy is threatened and those which have a particular importance to him.

Moreover, one must know the characteristics (physical and chemical) of the sabotage materials, particularly their structure (the type of materials from which they are made), sensitivity, size, weight, shape, particle size, etc. This is a necessity if one is to find the most appropriate and reliable method of concealment and at the same time ensure complete reliability of the materials in case of their possible use, regardless of whether they are being stored for a short or long period of time. The most necessary conditions must be ensured for every material. The conditions of concealed storage are determined as the function of what the materials are made of (metal, wood, or chemicals). It is particularly important to provide protection against moisture, temperature change, pressure, friction, shock, blows, microorganisms, subterranean and aquatic animals (moles, mice, fish, etc.). The more severe and lasting the effect of environmental influences, the greater the changes that will take place in the materials, which will reduce the reliability in use if several harmful factors are affecting them. The size and form of the sabotage materials have a bearing on the size and form of the storage place and on the manner of concealment when people are carrying them. The amount of materials will also have a bearing on the size of the place for concealment. A good familiarity with the characteristics of sabotage materials will considerably speed up preparation for prolonged storage and proper wrapping.

It is indispensable to know the manner in which the various materials are prepared and used. It is well known that almost all sabotage materials (explosives particularly) are sensitive to moisture. Many types of firearms must first be partially or completely corrosion-proofed before concealment. Certain materials must be separated from others (mines and explosives from materials for detonation), though there will be exceptions to this. Up-to-date containers and containers which will be developed in future and also protective agents (various coatings) will greatly facilitate the work of concealing sabotage materials. Various plastic and metal materials are most suitable to use as containers: bags, foil, pipes, cans, barrels and various vessels, jars and cans of various types. Rubber articles, concrete pipes, cans of materials and articles, large and small glass vessels, etc., are also suitable. It is particularly essential, regardless of the type of container, that the package be airtight (with lids, corks, plastic tape or film, by melting wax and paraffin, sealing joints by wrapping them in oakum soaked in red lead, and various types of resins).

When sabotage materials are being concealed, it is important to be familiar with the structures where they will be concealed as to type of construction and materials used in their construction. It is also important to have proper tools for making hiding places (niches, dugouts, etc.).

Secrecy is particularly important when the work related to concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials is being done. The very minimum number of people should be involved in the work, and whenever possible someone should be posted as a lookout to report approach of the enemy or any other danger.

The human factor is decisive in carrying out any mission, and concealment of sabotage materials is no exception. It is difficult to foresee all possible situations, but it is particularly essential that people be courageous, ingenuous, bold, resourceful, full of initiative, clever and coolheaded. They must display audacity, speed, agility and persistence. Along with other personnel, effective use can be made of women, children and old people and members of all social groups and occupations. Those employed in public services will be particularly suitable: medical personnel, postal workers, railroad workers, highway workers, those who work in the forest, plumbers, electricians, mechanics, waiters, chauffeurs, streetcleaners, store clerks.... It is realistic to expect that success will not always be achieved, but people who are motivated are able to carry out improbable exploits. There are many examples from the National Liberation War to demonstrate this. For example, an underground printshop operated during the occupation in Belgrade. Mostar concealed an entire battalion of fighting men, and Petrova Gora and Kocovski Rog concealed entire partisan hospitals. There is hardly a city or a portion of the territory where underground work was not carried on even under the most difficult conditions of the occupation during the National Liberation War. There will always be an unavoidable risk in the concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials in a nationwide defensive war. It is well known that when men are in a tight place or when they encounter an obstacle when they are engaged in a prohibited activity, they behave differently than under normal conditions. This behavior has certain characteristics which an attentive observer can spot. Some of the most common outward signs of this behavior are the following: averting the eyes, dilation of the pupils, perspiration, frequent swallowing of saliva, trembling of the voice, stuttering, muscle tension (visible twitches in the face), irritability, excessive gesticulation, cracking the knuckles, frequent shifting from one foot to the other, etc. Involuntary movements occur as a reaction to the psychological struggle going on inside the individual. Maximum self-control within the limits of possibility is therefore indispensable in such situations. It will depend on the peculiarities of each individual and on his adaptability to such situations. It is well known that when dangerous situations recur, a man gets his bearings far better and withstands them more easily than in his initial attempt.

These are just some of the elements which have a bearing on concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials. It will not be out of the way to say as well that a certain knowledge in this field is a necessity not only for

professional soldiers, but for the population as a whole, since it is the civilian population which will more frequently be carrying out missions of this kind.

Possibilities for Concealment and Covert Movement and Methods To Be Used

Possible places for stationary concealment or concealment during movement of sabotage materials would include the following:

- i. on personnel;
- ii. on animals;
- iii. within various articles and materials which serve as camouflage;
- iv. in vehicles;
- v. within structures;
- vi. in the ground, and
- vii. in water.

Concealment on personnel will be a very frequent stratagem and will depend on the size and type of sabotage material. Small sabotage materials--explosives, detonators, caps, fuses, miniature devices for detonating mines and explosive charges, special demolition charges for sabotage, poisons, etc., can be sealed and carried covertly by women pretending to be pregnant, by persons of both sexes pretending to be hunchback, under bandages (on the head or other parts of the body), in plaster casts used for broken arms or legs, between the layers of boot uppers, in the hair, in shoe soles (plastic explosive) and in various other ways depending on inventiveness and conditions.

Concealment on animals will also be widely used: beneath a horse's mane or in his knotted tail, in sheep's fleece, inside slaughtered animals (poultry, game, fish, etc.). To protect the materials from moisture, they should be sealed, that is, wrapped in plastic.

There is hardly any thing or material widely used under wartime conditions which cannot be used for concealment and covert movement of materials. Things which people carry with them might be suitcases with a false bottom, satchels with secret pockets, linings in winter clothing, special bags (physicians, mailmen, railroad workers, electricians, etc.). The Algerians, for example, carried detonator caps and detonators in walking canes by removing the metal ferrule from the bottom of the cane and then drilling holes in its interior. The ferrule was screwed on, so that it could quickly be screwed off and the cap placed in the cane or removed from it as necessary. Flower pots and bouquets are particularly suitable for concealment and covert movement of sabotage materials. In the Vietnam war, during the well-known TET

offensive, hundreds of peasants dressed in their best clothes flowed into the cities on the eve of the Moon's New Year. Many of them carried pistols, grenades, ammunition and explosives in flower pots and bouquets. Stovepipes in settled places can be used effectively. During the war a group of volunteers from Sjenica went off to join the Partisans, carrying rifles out of the city in stovepipes. Coffins are suitable for carrying large weapons used in sabotage. In the frames of large pictures made especially for this purpose one can conceal explosives, detonator caps, detonating fuses and various other sabotage materials or carry them covertly. One should bear in mind that the pictures must not have any great value as art, since that would make them more noticeable, and they might be taken as booty. Containers used for putting up food for the winter or other food containers offer ideal opportunities for concealment and for covert movement, provided there is protection against moisture. Crock containing sauerkraut, crocks containing dairy products, jars of jam (pickled cucumbers or peppers), etc., can be used in this way. Many parts of furniture can be used as small niches ready at hand--armchairs, beds of various types, sideboards and buffets (with hidden compartments), refrigerators with places specially made for concealment or containing telephones, television sets and radios, in which case one must be careful of the effect of temperature. Small sabotage materials can be effectively concealed in various types of large vegetables and fruit--pumpkins, watermelons, cantaloupe, cabbage heads, cucumbers, bananas, apples, pears, etc.

Almost all vehicles are suitable for concealment and concealed movement of sabotage materials. The most suitable trucks are those for special purposes (refrigerated trucks, fuel trucks, garbage trucks, ambulances and mail trucks, cement mixers, etc.). Special compartments can be built in them to carry large amounts of materials. The most suitable places on the vehicles for this purpose are spare tires, space beneath and behind the rear seat, the space inside the doors, behind the headlights and spotlights, as well as in the bumpers. Compartments can be made in fuel tanks for concealing automatic rifles, pistols, grenades, ammunition, explosives, etc. If the acid and cells are removed from storage batteries, one can cleverly conceal various materials by cutting out a piece of the wall which is again replaced. Here it is important not to change the shape or weight. Barges and boats of various kinds (for fishing or recreation, etc.) are suitable places of concealment. The Vietnamese, for example, had special rings underneath their boats to which they attached plastic bags containing weapons. Life-saving rings, which are an integral part of the boat's equipment, can be used for concealment as well. In railroad cars the most suitable places are the lower portions of the partitions between the compartments (in summertime when the heat is not turned on), the compartments containing the electrical equipment, the roof, the space beneath the steps and in snackbars.

Various man-made and natural structures offer a large opportunity for concealment. Among the man-made structures, the most common use will be made of dwellings and outbuildings (barns, stables, bakeries, drying ovens, remote farm buildings, etc.), and then burial vaults, conduits, ruins, abandoned houses, abandoned tunnels, mines, etc. The so-called "double-wall"

system will be used most frequently and effectively, but the essential thing is not to cause a visible alteration of the building structure. Places in corners (under the floor) are also suitable. Cellars, attics, roofs (the outside of the chimney above the roof) have attracted particular attention from the enemy in all past wars, so that one should be cautious in choosing such places. Hidden niches in walls will be best camouflaged if they are made behind radiators (care should be taken about the effect of temperature), behind tiled stoves and other stationary objects, as well as on balconies (loggias), in which case one uses side walls or those closest to the dwelling (inside walls). Care should be taken so that the partitions are thick, since this makes it more difficult to find the hidden materials. If niches are made beneath the floor, the opening should be left at the entrance to the room (by the threshold), and by no means in the middle of the room or in the corners. It is mandatory that they be camouflaged with parquet flooring, wall-to-wall carpeting, linoleum or other floor coverings. The lid on the opening should be as thick as possible and made of the same material as the portion of the structure being used. Large lids should have one or two handles so that they can be replaced (removed) more quickly and easily, but they must not protrude above the level of the floor. Niches between double windows and doors (in wooden frames) are also suitable for concealing small objects.

One of the oldest and most reliable methods of concealment is burial underground. When one looks for suitable places, he should seek well-drained soil where there are good conditions for camouflage (overgrowth). When the materials are placed in the holes, care should be taken that the materials less sensitive to pressure (crushing) be placed at the bottom or that supports be placed to prevent pressure or friction. If explosives and detonators are being placed in the same hole, they should be separated by a partition. On stony ground where a hole cannot be dug, depressions or cracks in the stone, sinkholes and caves are used, and if there are none, the materials are placed on the ground and covered with stones, care being taken to avoid crushing and other harmful effects. In principle all holes should be dug as far as possible from dwellings and outbuildings, but covert approach to the holes should be possible. When places of concealment are dug in yards, they should be concealed with plants. In spring, summer and fall it is best to plant flowers.

Thanks to modern containers and packaging materials, various bodies of water offer good opportunities for concealing sabotage materials, as do rivers, brooks, swamps, lakes, fishponds, cisterns, wells, etc. Particular attention must be paid to the effect of the water. Special niches of varying shape and size can be made in the walls of wells. Wooden or metal handles (better wooden, since they are not detected by metal detectors) are usually placed on the outside of the niche.

Everything we have said should not be taken as a ready-made prescription, but should only serve as an impetus for finding better and more reliable solutions. The same method of concealment must not be used twice at the same time and in the same place. One must bear in mind that the enemy and

particularly his special units and police units know about many of these and other methods of concealment and covert movement, and they will certainly bear them in mind when they conduct searches.

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